

TAKING SIDES
FOR THE OCT. 26
REFERENDUM

Maclean's



Bob Rae's Revolution

How The NDP
Is Changing
The Rules
For 10 Million
Ontarians



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A Revolution Takes Shape

For many Canadians, it's a fading memory, but there was a time not long ago when elected governments were as bold as Julius and Ethel throughout the Western world. During the mid-1960s, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson pushed the need to create what he called a Great Society—and pushed through legislation to protect civil rights, fight poverty, provide free medical care for the aged and fund urban renewal. In Canada, Pierre Trudeau galvanized Canadian voters at the 1968 general election with stirring speeches about the Just Society—one in which politicians would be more open to the ideas of "the people." The implication was clear: government's role was to speak up on behalf of the least powerful members of society, not merely to read the store while others went about their business.

That approach might strike many modern politicians as naive, even dangerous. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, among others, convinced millions of voters in the Western democracies that, in matters of government, small is better. At the same time, economic restraint has forced even some left-leaning governments, including the now administrations of Saskatchewan and British Columbia, to temper their reform ambitions.

Ontario Premier Bob Rae faces similar financial constraints, but he seems determined not to let them stop him from introducing some of North America's most far-reaching social reforms in such areas as pay and employment equity, labor law and parental rights. And Ontario Attorney General Phil Kubiak, who cowrote this week's cover story with National Editor Ross Lauer, and who introduced Rae for his package. "The program is remarkably frank about wanting to dismantle and reshape the power structure in our society." So far, the debate about these reforms has been confined largely to those who would be most directly affected—including business leaders, educators, doctors and advocacy groups. But as the legislation takes effect, an entire population will feel the effects of Rae's revolution.



Lauer (left) and Kubiak show out a time not long ago when elected governments were as bold as Julius and Ethel.

Kevin L. Day

Maclean's

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LETTERS

Amplifying divisions

Your headline "The barn" (Coney, Aug. 31) is misleading. To destroy the democratic concept of one person/one vote, install racial classes for French-speaking Canadians and concentrate the powers of our Senate is hardly what I would call the "barn" of anything. The proposed constitutional changes will only amplify divisions and tensions in Canada's future. How do you like the much-celebrated benches of Pierre Trudeau's "written" Constitution so far, Mr. and Mrs. Canada?

J. Michael McCathern,
Toronto

Ontario Premier Bob Rae may call it greater equality, but his decision that democracy will best be served by decreasing that share of the six Ontario senators in the future Upper House, that he women could more aggressively be described as gender legacy. In my view, the most important criteria for selecting our parliamentarians should not be based on an individual's gender, but rather on his or her trustworthiness, honesty and personal integrity. It would then be quite conceivable that Ontario voters could decide to send to Ottawa not just three, but perhaps four or even six female senators. And why not, if such a decision would be based on the people's freedom to choose rather than as dictated by government decree?

J. J. Kinsch,
Edmonton, Ont.

The value of family

The article "The family values" thing" (Special Report, Aug. 30) is a great disservice to the millions of people who cherish fidelity and espouse the values that the writer has lumped together and categorized to "open a can of worms." But then, referring to family values is not controversial and would not make good copy. The antics of certain members of the Royal Family and not, as the writer seems to suggest, either moral or conscience should not be given what is surely overdue in the media.

Audrey Khan,
Ottawa

'Our real Constitution'

I thought at first that the editorial I'd vital preserve mention. From the Editor's Desk, Aug. 31) would have had something to say about the first Canadian constitutional accord either then dwelling on the George-Bath-William Centre. Instead, unfortunately, though, you state the



Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark (left), Ontario Premier Bob Rae and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney: were the talks really "barn" anything?

right in the money when you declare that the next U.S. president will set the economic agenda for our country and much of the Western Hemisphere. With Canada slowly but increasingly moving towards an American-dominated continental superstate, our real Constitution is the larger terms will be provided from the North American Free Trade Agreement reached just a few days earlier at the historically infamous Watergate Hotel.

Christopher Carr,
Chesapeake, B.C.

Hats off

Medicine's B.C. special issue was superb (Aug. 24). Every aspect from the economy to crime was detailed in full. It is just too bad that our premier, Michael Harcourt, apparently did not glance at the magazine. Otherwise he might understand that British Columbia is booming in population and that right to 10 acres each would have been appropriate, not the fact that he is staying. Anyway, hats off to the other provinces for allowing a review of the real structure in 1990.

Virax Khanna,
Vancouver

Mountains of praise

All of us at British Columbia House are justifiably terribly proud of our province. For us, British Columbia is a product far more than just our outstanding British Columbia news exemplifies all of that. We can take the

leave: Excellent work, Macdonald, and congratulations to all concerned.

Gordon Gordon,
Office of the Agent General in the United Kingdom and Europe
London

Congratulations to Brian Johnson on an excellent article about our phenomenal province ("That magic place," Letter from Tofino, B.C., Aug. 24). Unfortunately, most British Columbia residents take our home for granted and do not do enough to protect it for the Johnson families of the future. And just a note to the rest of Canada: the majority of us do not get up at nine o'clock in the morning for therapy sessions in a parking lot.

Mike Atkinson,
Victoria

Thanks for your special issue on British Columbia and the articles about Asian influence in this province I call home. As a Canadian of Chinese descent, I trust the many immigrants from Hong Kong who are using Canada as only a safe haven, not as a home. Reading your article "The right stuff" (World Aug. 24) made me realize that both immigrants and the movement from Hong Kong would be beneficial for the B.C. economy. But I hope that Vancouver will not be transformed into a less-than-bustle, fast-paced city like Hong Kong. I applaud you for enlightening those who do not know about the true splendor of beautiful British Columbia.

Joyce Lee,
Vancouver

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OPENING SALVOS

HEATED DEBATE IN QUEBEC CITY MARKS THE START OF AN ACRIMONIOUS CAMPAIGN OVER NATIONAL UNITY

In his seven years in a Liberal backbench, Jean-Guy Saint-Roch never managed to attract much notice. The 52-year-old marketing executive, twice elected to represent the Eastern Townships riding of Drummond in Quebec's National Assembly, labored loyally but largely in obscurity, but twice last week, Saint-Roch entered the provincial political spotlight, the result of flogging sessions with Premier Robert Bourassa. On emerging from the second meeting as the province's Quebec City officer, the Drummond MLA released that while he found the accusations a treasonous distortion, it was ultimately false. "No, Mr. Bourassa was not able to convince me to remain," Saint-Roch declared

as he announced his intention to quit the Liberal party caucus in protest against the national unity package agreed to in Charlottetown last month by Bourassa, the other nine premiers, the federal government and aboriginal leaders. "I honestly believe that deal is on point," he said later, "either for my own grandfather or for those of any other Quebecer or, for that matter, any other Canadian."

In choosing to abandon the Liberal caucus, Saint-Roch became the first—and so far only—MLA to do so as a result of the new constitutional proposals. Still, the efforts undertaken by Bourassa to dissuade a relatively silent political figure from leaving the party provides a measure of the current volatile mood in the province. Tensions reached in the National Assembly gathered last week to close the way for an Oct. 26 provisions referendum on the Charlottetown package—while Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's federal cabinet met in March. Later to schedule a similar national vote on the same date, but that is a provisos agreement that at a Quebec 4-6 million voters who will play the decisive role in the issue. "It's probably still too early to predict a result," said Fernand Lévesque, a key

member of the Liberal party's newly created referendum campaign committee. "And it has all the appearances of developing into a lively campaign."

The first salvo, fired in the National Assembly, certainly gave a debate an acrimonious air in the use that characterized the 1980 Quebec referendum campaign when the federalist option prevailed with 59.5 per cent of the vote. The mood was better in news gathered to sound off 150, the province's referendum legislators, to advise a vote to be held on the constitutional package instead of an sovereignty, as the legislation originally stipulated. An angry Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau accused Bourassa of strategy on his promise to hold a sovereignty referendum, while Bourassa reportedly urged the PQ leader to "take himself."

The atmosphere is unlikely to improve in the campaign outside. This week, the referendum question will be tabled in the National Assembly. Bourassa has said that it will be simple and direct, most likely taking the form of a vote in support of or against the Charlottetown deal. Meanwhile, under Quebec legislation, grassroots individuals who want to actively take part in the debate are legally required to join either the Yes or No umbrella committees that will be established to conduct the campaign. Those committees will be run by sitting MLAs. In the case of the Yes side and the

Provisional for the No forces.

Parizeau (left), Bourassa attacks bedfellows

Those sides are already creating strange bedfellows. Last week, Parizeau welcomed Montreal lawyer and prominent Liberal Jean Allaire to the No camp. Allaire was the January, 1990, Liberal party report announcing a full-scale transfer of federal powers to Quebec—a report that Parizeau ridiculed at the time. That point was not lost on Bourassa, who called the PQ a gang of hypocrites" for welcoming Allaire into their fold.

For others, the legislation is clearly straining concerns. René Lévesque, a list of old loyalties are being tested. "Drummond was, Saint-Roch, for me, a cage to take to the hearings to campaign against the deal—that had to show in his last vote the PQ. The staunch federalist, English rights. Legality party is facing a similar dilemma, such as when that Leader Robert Lévesque, rarely described as "the rock and the hard place."

The feasibility party, with just three MLAs, is instead of the Charlevoix accord because of the deal's perceived failure to address the issue of language minorities. But the party is faced with the unpalatable choice of campaigning under the recent decision of the latest PQ.

On August 28, 1989, the final test will be released this week and debated in Parliament before the referendum campaign begins in earnest. That decision, and one more legislative suggestion, will not be presented as "an initiative of the government of Canada or any political party in Canada. It will be presented as a nonpartisan, pro-Canadian initiative."

In fact, the Conservatives appear to be choosing even their comrades with care. Last week, Mulroney said that it was "normal" that some Canadians would oppose the proposal because they perceive it to be flawed. In that case, he said, "a vote against the proposal is simply a vote against the proposal." That he suggested, contrary to the situation in Quebec, where sovereignty will oppose the proposal because they are "enemies of Canada." That view was supported by Health Minister Rémont Bouchard, Mulroney's senior Quebec minister. Bouchard, who supported the pro-sovereignty stance in the 1980 referendum, said that this time he will campaign for the federal package in his home province because saying "yes means yes to Canada, and no means no to Canada." In the coming weeks, those battle lines will become even more clearly drawn—and potentially more explosive.

BARRY KANE in Quebec City with ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa

SCRAMBLING WESTWAY

New South Brunswick Minister Terence Donohue ordered a full environmental review of a strip mine proposed by Westway N.S. The review is expected to last at least six months. Westway, owned by TransCanada Corp., had been lobbying for swift approval since the province closed its underground mine in early Plymouth after a May explosion that killed 26 men. As part of its environmental campaign, Westway promised to give a share of its expense money to families of the dead miners.

DEADLY FORCE

In a 3 to 2 ruling, the Manitoba Law Enforcement Review Agency declared that Winnipeg police Const. Robert Crozier used excessive force during a shoot-out in March 1983, that resulted in the shooting death of Manitoba police officer John Joseph Harper. A lawyer for Crozier said that he will appeal the ruling to the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench.

THE RIGHT TO EXPOSE

Quebec Superior Court Justice Gwyneth Piche ruled that a one-year-old Montreal civil bylaw banning suggestive street signs is a violation of freedom of expression guaranteed in the Charter of Rights. Piche said that the city bylaw, which prohibited owners of strip clubs and other establishments from depicting the naked human body on their signs, amounted to a criminal law aimed at protecting public morals. Only the federal government, she added, can enact criminal laws.

PEPPER GAUNTS

The Ontario government enforced the police use of pepper spray, around spray that leaves people stung and no physical control, as part of a new set of regulations on the use of lethal force. The new rules also prohibit the use of choke holds and require officers to present written reports after they draw or lose their guns.

BARRING A HATEMONGER

The Toronto-based Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies urged the federal government to bar British historian David Irving from a Canadian speaking tour in November. Representative of the center note that Irving, who denies that the Holocaust took place, was connected in 1980 under a German law similar to Canada's hate law. Irving's Canadian immigration Act, foreign residents are denied entry if they are convicted of crimes that would be indictable offenses in Canada.



CANADA WATCH

The Yes and No battle lines began to emerge in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at Oct. 26 as his first for a national unity referendum and prepared to table the proposed referendum question this week in Parliament. In Ottawa, the federal Liberal and new leaders vowed to campaign for the proposed constitutional reforms. In Quebec City, Liberal constitutional advisor Jean Allaire joined forces with the Parti Québécois to oppose the deal. And in Calgary, Reform Party leader Preston Manning was deluged with telephone calls urging him fight

against the agreement. In other developments:

■ An Atlantic Canada spokesman said that the referendum will cost taxpayers between \$400 million and \$500 million.

■ B.C. Premier Michael Bennett said that his province would join Ontario and New South Wales in extending a hand number of its 100 Senate seats this week. Two days later, after a defeat of public opinion, he would call that gesture equal to his own to decide.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"We've got the machine to give and we're ready to put it into overdrive."

—Benoit Lévesque, party president Jean-Pierre Roy, on setting the constitutional deal

horror that can arise out of that hopelessness. During the hearings, I heard reports of rampant child abuse in Manitoba reserves and of well-documented individual cases of abuse covered up by reserve officials. Many aboriginal children are suffering both physically and emotionally, in their settings and in families that are dysfunctional." Dr. Charles Ferguson, a child abuse specialist and director of the Winnipeg Child Protection Centre, told the inquiry.

Also testifying at the inquiry was Marion Glover, a child abuse expert who worked for the Dakota Ojibway Child and Family Services, the agency responsible for child welfare at Sandy Bay and across other reserves. Within four months of becoming a child welfare supervisor at the agency in September, 1987, Glover found 60 cases of suspected child abuse—including those of Desautels—at Sandy Bay. Prior to that, she says, there were no child abuse cases reported there. After the agency failed to act, Glover took her findings to the provincial government—and was promptly fired. "My position all along is there has been a conspiracy to cover up child abuse," Glover said in a recent interview with *Maclean's*. "The child abuse situation in Indian reserves. But reserve workers did not want to investigate abuse. Chiefs and band council members interfere. And the social services ministry does not care."

In his report, judge Giesbrecht clearly concurred with that assessment. "Marion Glover was responsible for exposing the problems, not creating them," he wrote. He accused the Manitoba government of turning its back on the issue of abuse, and he called for an overhaul of the Dakota Ojibway Child and Family Services agency. As well, he called for legislation to curb the ability of chiefs and councilors to interfere with child welfare services. Wanda Giesbrecht in a striking rebuke: "A child-care agency that cannot stand up to incompetence cannot do its job, and is not entitled to a mandate. An Indian leadership that cannot discipline itself is not worthy of governing." But Giesbrecht also said that aboriginal communities must ultimately hold themselves. Write the judge: "An absence of outside assistance in the form of government programs, legislation or even constitutional change will conceivably be of assistance. Only the individual residents of the reserve are capable of getting on to this."

Many reserves say that a large part of the blame rests with the residential school system. Until the 1970s, Canadian authorities forced many aboriginal children to leave their families and attend church-administered residential schools, often hundreds of kilometers from their homes, in an effort to assimilate them into

Canadian society. That alone, experts say, helped to destroy aboriginal values. Named Ojibwa's Richard: "How could you ever learn to live in a good way in the context of the family if you were never around to live with your family? Native culture relies a lot on role



Richard: 'native culture relies on role modelling'

modelling. Without adequate role models in the context of the residential schools, there wasn't a whole lot of skills learned in terms of child and family life."

Much of what the children did learn at the residential schools was clearly harmful. Stripped of their values, punished for speaking their native languages, many aboriginals now say that they endured physical and sexual abuse in the schools. Says Glen Prosser, a community development worker with Elder's Macman Native Friendship Centre: "Often, abuse occurs from people who were abused themselves. It just perpetuates itself."

As Phil Fontaine, the head of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, declared in a controversial speech in June, 1991, "The nation becomes the victimizer." In that speech, Fontaine said that he was abused by teachers during his years in residential schools in Winnipeg and Fort Alexander, 160 km northwest of the Manitoba capital—and that he had in turn been abusive in his relationships with women. Declared Fontaine: "I can never apologise enough to all the people I've harmed. I have to heal as well."

In fact, many native communities are starting the healing process. Violence panel member Dianne Smith says that some reserves, including her home reserve of Minitowic, 130 km north of Ottawa, have established healing camps for abuse victims. At the Holow Water reserve, 160 km southeast of Winnipeg, residents have started a program to counsel both victims and abusers, intervene in families whose members are suffering from violence, and even help members as counsellors. These efforts received support in June when, at the annual meeting of the Assembly of First Nations in Fredericton, delegates voted unanimously in support of a resolution condemning abuse. Says Dianne Smith: "There was a well at the hall among the national chiefs that violence against aboriginal women had to stop."

More and more aboriginal men, meanwhile, are following Fontaine's lead and confronting their demons head-on. In the remote northern B.C. reserve of Alkali Lake, for one, residents have established a self-help group for native men who were abused at residential schools. "Our men are slowly beginning to look at the abuse," said Elise MacIntosh, an Ojibwa from Manitowish Island, Ont., who in August was one of 18 people attending the Healing Gathering on Second Avenue at the Ojibwa Reserve head reserve, 70 km north of Winnipeg. "We are beginning to look at the scars, to let go the pain, the garbage and self-hatred."

Other aboriginal women also say that the situation has already begun to improve. "I think events are taking a turn," says Helaine's Prosper. "Sweet lodges and self-healing group are helping people go back to the old traditions." For her part, Dianne Smith sounds as equally hopeful about it. "We are breaking our silence, and I think that we will overcome our current situation," she says. But, she adds, "We have a long way to go." Justice Giesbrecht's report last week offered a clear indication of just how long—and and painful—that road may be.

FRANK KOPPELSON with **JOHN HOWSE** in Sandy Bay and **JOHN DEMONT** in Helene

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BOB RAE'S REVOLUTION

A SWEEPING ARRAY OF
NEW ONTARIO LAWS
WILL RESHAPE SOCIETY
AND ALTER THE
BALANCE OF POWER

Sitting in his office at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children last January, TV, Alan Goldblum, the hospital's associate chief pediatrician, was shocked as he read a proposed Ontario law on consent and hospital treatment. The legislation would grant to children aged 12 or over the former right to refuse medical treatment without parental consent. "I have no qualms about protecting vulnerable adults," said Goldblum later, noting that an Ontario law already guarantees people 18 and older the right to make decisions about hospital care, "but then could become ludicrous. For one thing, he asked, the fear of needles could lead children to refuse vaccinations during a measles or mumps epidemic. "Most kids who are 12 and 13 don't like needles or other treatments that hurt," adds Goldblum. "They'd do it if their parents tell them to, but when the law, parents can't make them do anything." The Consent to Treatment Act is only one of many social-reform measures proposed by Premier Bob Rae's New Democratic government that would dramatically transform the lives of Ontario's 10 million citizens.

The new raft of suggested new laws and programs would have far-reaching effects on everything from pocket loans to police stations, classrooms to nursing homes, factories to doctors' offices. In spite of the diversity of those initiatives, a common thread runs through each of the more elements at the NDP's social reform agenda. Two years after the party's surprise election victory over David Peterson's Liberals on Sept. 8, 1990, its declared aim is nothing less than to change the distribution of power and redress what the government perceives as deep-seated social injustices in Canada's most populous province. "We are empowering people by creating a new set of rights and new controls of power," Rae told *Maclean's* last week during a break in a three-day cabinet meeting at a lakeside resort north of Toronto. He added that his government's objective is to generate "counterbalancing power that will have an impact where power is very much held by small groups."

Progressive: Rae's administration has ventured into ground whites no other North American government has trod—including Canada's two other main provincial governments in Saskatchewan and British Columbia (page 28). One of the most controversial planks in the Ontario NDP platform is what officials describe as an

continent's most progressive labor legislation—a bill that, among other things, would prohibit companies from hiring replacement workers during a strike. It would also bar any union member who wanted to work from going to his job during a strike. And the New Democrats are intent on expanding the pay equity program introduced by the Liberals, already one of the western hemisphere's most comprehensive efforts to ensure that women are paid as much as men for work of equal value.

Most recently, and perhaps most significantly, Ontario has become the first province in Canada to propose a mandatory employment equity program that would have the effect of requiring privately owned companies to hire and promote women, minorities, aboriginals and disabled people.

Rights: So far, the government's opponents have taken aim most directly at the proposed labor laws. Business groups and many of the country's largest employers have argued that the legislation will give trade unions too much power and frighten off investors from Canada's industrial heartland. Critics also charge that the New Democrats' approach to empowering vulnerable or disadvantaged members of society—including workers, visible minorities, women, natives, children, the elderly and the disabled—is fundamentally misguided. They claim that some of the programs will hand power to narrowly focused interest groups rather than to truly individuals. A vocal, unyielding one: veteran vice engineer. "We are getting into some very tricky areas. If we are not careful we can create all kinds of tensions."

Indeed, some analysts say that the NDP's employment equity proposal is a potentially divisive instrument. Develin University of Toronto lecturer Michael Blau: "People are being defined by race and gender, and it is profoundly wrong. In a liberal society you think about people in terms of their character, not the color of their skin." Blau said that he is worried that the program could produce an ugly backlash. "The government says that it is trying to stop racism and sexism," he added, "but I think they are raising the awareness of race and are almost to a fever pitch."

Rae, a Rhodes Scholar and the son of renowned diplomat Sir Ray, has a lengthy track record as a defender of society's underprivileged (page 25). In an interview, the 44-year-old premier said that his government's proposals would give "ordinary people of all



backgrounds and colors and creeds" the legal tools to assert their rights and interests. He added that criticism of the Ontario NDP agenda is based on resistance from elites that do not wish to share their power. "It clearly appeals some at the power structure," Rae said. "But

these people have really got to shut about the consequences of economically disinclined living hundreds of thousands of people—which is what has been happening and will continue to happen unless we make some changes."

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association,

Anti-racism rally outside the Ontario legislature: venturing into new territory

however, has raised concerns about the principle—outlined in the Rae government's social-justice proposals—of group-based rights. The association's general counsel, Alan Buz-

ney, says that there is a danger that laws which carve out rights for specific groups in society will lead to reverse discrimination. "Even if whites and non in general enjoy a number of

advantages because of our society's heritage of discrimination." Harvey said in a brief to the provincial government. "It is not acceptable for any individual who is not to be made to suffer for the uncommitted by other people."

Values: In the United States, similar programs aimed at helping women and minorities have come under fierce attack from conservatives and anti-abortion proponents alike. One widely published critic of such measures, University of Rochester historian Christopher Lasch, says that when governments offer benefits to specific groups, they encourage members of disadvantaged minorities to think of themselves as victims of society. "These programs institutionalize a kind of dependency," Lasch said in an interview. "In the long run, that can only mean a larger state and a larger welfare apparatus."

Still, New Democrat policymakers say that the proposed changes are necessary to keep pace with Ontario's exploding population. According to demographers, about 65 per cent of Metropolitan Toronto residents in 2001 will be members of so-called visible minorities, including blacks, Greeks and others of non-European descent.

By the same year, according to government projections, 80 per cent of the people entering the provincial workforce will be women, disabled people, aboriginals and other newcomers. Said former NDP MP Ross McCarlin, who is now Rae's chief policy adviser: "When I was a kid, this was a place where the population was largely from the British Isles. Now, our institutions have to adapt to a multicultural and multiracial reality, and government has an important role to play in ensuring fairness." Added McCarlin: "We are trying to help foster

opportunity and equality in our society. We are trying to do that with our jobs agenda, our equity agenda and our social policy initiatives."

The new agenda began to take shape in social-reform agenda five years before it took

face of the province's legislature. Under the proposed Employment Equity Act, introduced in June, private companies with 50 or more workers, the entire 600-member provincial civil service, and public sector institutions such as schools and hospitals with 30 or more employees will be required to conduct surveys to determine the percentage of their workforce that consist of women, minorities, aboriginals and disabled people. With some exceptions, if the employers' workforce fails to reflect the demographic composition of the region in which it is located, management would have to establish measures to correct the imbalance and promote workers in the target groups.

In setting these goals, companies would be allowed to take into account the skills required for specific jobs and the number of available candidates among the target groups. (According to the official responsible for drafting the new law, 50.4 per cent of Ontario residents are women, 8.6 per cent are members of racial minorities, 1.7 per cent are native and 7.4 per cent are physically or mentally disabled.)

Impact: As envisaged, the employment equity legislation would affect about three-quarters of Ontario's workforce—more than three million individuals. After it took effect, a newly created Employment Equity Commission would monitor compliance by conducting random audits of employers, and a tribunal would be established to resolve complaints that employers had not met their targets. Companies not obeying tribunal rulings could face fines of up to \$50,000.

The proposed law would be far tougher than Ontario's own employment equity program, introduced by the Conservatives in 1984. Un-

der Ontario's system, federally regulated employers such as Crown corporations, banks and some telecommunications companies must file annual reports showing progress in hiring women and minorities at initial vacancies. But companies have opposed the scheme as ineffective, pointing out that there are no penalties for non-compliance. For his part, Rae said that his government chose to introduce a stronger law because the national program "did not go far as people wanted." He added: "There will be a lively debate. The issues are critical."

Indeed, other attempts to regulate the workplace have already ignited fierce debates in the province. One controversy erupted in June, when the fire department in Kitchener, Ont., rejected a job application from June Simo, a 33-year-old, well-employed carpenter. Simo, who is married with two young children, says that before submitting his application he took 28 months off work to complete his high school diploma in order to meet the basic requirements for a firefighter's position. But he was disqualified from consideration after he scored a score of 83 per cent on the department's aptitude test. Under the city's employment equity program, white males working jobs as firefighters must earn a mark of 85, while women and minorities only require a score of 70.

Catholics: Simo has successfully complained about the city's employment standards to the Ontario Human Rights Commission, arguing that he is the victim of reverse discrimination. He and his wife, Kim, 36, also collected more than 5,000 signatures in a petition which they have submitted to Kitchener city council. Said Kim Simo, who works at a day care centre: "We wouldn't be doing this if we were prejudiced. But young males of today are being penalized for wrongs of the past." She added that employment equity programs should remove barriers to disadvantaged groups, but not confer special status on them. "After all, when they finally give women the vote they did not give us two votes."

Although the Rae government is clearly prepared to withstand pressure from opponents of its employment equity program, it may have more difficulty reconciling the competing interests of several of the NDP's traditional supporters. According to party insiders, union

leaders have complained privately to the government about the potential impact of employment equity on the rights of their members. In many cases, union contracts specify that in the event of a lockout, companies have to employ lay-offs on the basis of seniority—a principle known as "last hired, first fired." In addition, some contracts stipulate that the most experienced workers in particular job classes

be capable "For her part, Ontario's Federation of Labor (NFL) secretary-treasurer Julie Duna, a close Rae adviser and co-chair of the party's 1990 campaign, said that her organization strongly supports employment equity, although "lots of discussion and lots of compromise will be needed" during its implementation. The NFL, she added, has taken many steps within its own ranks to combat racism. Of the



Picket-line violence: The NDP calls its labor legislation the most progressive on the continent

ONTARIO'S AGENDA FOR SOCIAL REFORM

PAY EQUITY FOR WOMEN

A \$1-billion program to extend the principle of equal pay for work of equal value to 500,000 public sector women not covered by the existing legislation.

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

New legislation that would compel public and private sector employers to hire and promote more women, minorities, natives and the disabled.

LABOR REFORMS

The Rae government plans to outlaw strikebreakers, make it easier to form a union and guarantee new bargaining units a first contract.

ADVOCACY LEGISLATION

Proposed measures would allow children to withhold consent for hospital treatment and create an advocacy commission to protect the rights of young people, the blind and others.

than the majority in terms of skin tone and hair texture?"

He added that he is not surprised that some liberal writers are uncomfortable with the program. "Generally there are going to be deficiencies. When you need 700 people come in piece with equal qualifications, the person who is black is going to get the job. In effect, it's reverse discrimination that eventually they will learn to take themselves out."

The law government will also have to fend off claims by other interest groups for inclusion in the employment equity program. Gay and lesbian activists have criticized the Ontario KOP for excluding them from the designated groups, arguing that their community also faces discrimination in the job market. Last week, the campaign for homosexual rights joined a coalition when the Ontario Human Rights Commission issued a ruling that effectively exempted governments and private employers to give gay and lesbian couples the same health and pension benefits currently available to heterosexual partners. The commission's leader, Catherine France, said later that the ruling, upholding a challenge by 44-year-old provincial council attorney Michael Lesch, would likely serve as a precedent for gay and lesbians across the country.

In its campaign for employment equity rights, the Ontario Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights is distributing pamphlets that endorse their position and urging supporters to rally there to Rae's office. Rae, however, told Maclean's that identifying gays as a designated group under the legislation could erode an individual's privacy. Said the premier: "The challenge with respect to gays and lesbians as part of a formal employment equity program is that you're dealing in an area of life where not everyone wants to identify themselves as members of these sexual orientations."

Compared to the employment equity bill, the proposed Consent to Treatment Act and related legislation known as the *Advocacy Act* have attracted relatively little public attention. But in some respects, the aims of the bills are similar: each is designed to assist citizens of people that have traditionally lacked a strong voice in society. Currently, the law says that individuals have to be 16 or older to consent to medical treatment at a public hospital, the proposed law would have the effect of lowering the age to 12—and in some cases, even lower.

Children of 12 years already have the right to obtain, or refuse, medical treatment while in a hospital, but they can be overruled if a doctor decides that they are incapable of making a competent decision. Under the new law, children 12 and older could challenge doctors' treatment and request to meet with a provincial employee, "independent adviser," regardless of their parents' views. Even if the adviser supported the doctor, the child could still appeal the finding to a review board.

Complaints, nonetheless, were leveled before a legislative committee examining the proposed law last month, says that he appears the bill in part because, "it interferes with a very normal parental role—that of responsibility for a

child's welfare. But he also complains that many of the bill's proponents harbor an antiquated notion of the medical profession. They make a sound like we hold children down for unethical people, examinations against their will," he said in an interview. Another critic, Dana Greenwell, spokeswoman for the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies, told the committee that the legislation was "likely to poison family conflict even among well-functioning families."

Lesch is, in fact, the second rights advocate who would be available to counsel not only children but a wide range of people with physical or mental disabilities, as well as frail elderly people. The law says that the advocacy services would be particularly valuable for residents of nursing homes who are unhappy about their treatment.



Lesch and partner Michael Stark: a landmark ruling that extends gay rights

Overseeing the service would be a newly created Advocacy Commission, which would be dominated by people from oppositionist (non-governmental) volunteer groups such as paraplegics, AIDS patients, senior citizens and the mentally ill. Ontario Minister Elaine Zambelli, who is responsible for the advocacy bill, has estimated that the commission will have a budget of about \$25 million a year and will employ about 150 rights advocates across the province. Those advocates would have substantial powers, including the right to enter private homes without a warrant if they believe that a "vulnerable person" made a risk or wants the services of an advocate. In emergency, police can only enter a house without a warrant if they believe that a life is at risk, or that a person may suffer grave bodily harm.

Rae's government is also working to reform the education system in a way that would support groups that are now perceived to be disadvantaged, including inner black students and children of recent immigrants. In the past, students attending public schools were divided into three levels of classes based on academic ability. The system, known as streaming, was intended to sort to cover that brighter stu-

dents would be allowed to flourish with their intellectual peers. But poor policy adviser McClellan says that minority children were often unfairly streamed into vocational programs, while the children of middle-class families went on to university. As a result, Education Minister Tony Silpo has ordered an end to streaming in Grade 9 beginning in the fall of 1993, which means that all students will be placed in the same pool. He has the privately said that the previous attempt to stream Grade 10

As well, McClellan has learned that, for policy-makers are studying how to transfer some decision-making powers from school boards to voluntary parents' councils that would oversee individual schools. Said the director of education for a large Toronto-area

school board, who commented on tradition of seclusion: "This desegregation is not a new idea. This desegregation is not a new idea. This desegregation is not a new idea."

Whether at the workplace, the classroom or a hospital emergency ward, however, the Ontario government's policies appear to be based on a conviction that there have to be additional checks on the powers of those who have traditionally wielded control. Said Rae: "What we are trying to do is reform the imbalances of the marketplace by creating alternatives to the current of power." He added that the government's new establishment refers to Ontario's labor and employment laws and health-care policies, were based to specific questions. "There are those who don't like it. But there is always going to be resistance to social change, particularly when we ask some people to share power." In fact, many cases the government is prepared to go beyond mere requests for cooperation by dictating the terms of a new initiative—cases that would place Ontario in the front lines of social revolution.

PAUL KAHILA and ROSS LAYNER with ANTHONY CHANDLER in Toronto

THE ROAD TO THE PREMIERSHIP

RAE GREW UP SURROUNDED BY POLITICS

Strong in a small slum town with one hand on the reins of the reins, Premier Bob Rae absorbed the acrobacy and tranquility of Ontario's early September outdoors. A three-day cabinet retreat had brought him to a modest resort on the shores of Georgian Lake, two hours' drive north of Toronto. But after a long day of intense discussion and headlong behind closed doors last week, the 44-year-old former prime minister in a suit and tie for a few minutes—without luck, as it turned out. Still, the long-hauling expedition offered Rae a rare reprieve from the pressures of office. Since his election two years ago, the rookie premier has wrestled with a record \$10-billion provincial deficit, a recession, months of constitutional negotiations and criticism from within his own New Democratic Party that he has failed to connect fast and far enough to implement his party's reform-oriented platform.

Even at a young age, he was surrounded by politics. He was born in Ottawa in August, 1948, the son of a career diplomat and an upper-middle-class Englishwoman with a Cambridge University history degree. One of his father's closest friends was Lester Pearson, and the future Liberal prime minister was a frequent visitor to the family home when Rae was a child. At the age of seven, Rae's father, Sam, moved his family to Washington, D.C., to take up post as the Canadian ambassador. And in one of the family's first jobs, he took up a newspaper route (his customers included then-vice-president Richard Nixon). He played hockey and baseball, but family members did not remember him scoring many goals or runs. They say that he was more of a bookworm than an athlete. He only collected baseball cards, but he could also rhyme off the names of every U.S. president and the year he came to office. At age 11, he made it to the final round of a city-wide spelling bee, but flunked it when he misquoted the "definition"—an anagrammatic start for a future leader.

Later, Rae developed a remarkable athletic tenacity, particularly in individual sports such



Rae: a rare moment away from the pressures of high office

as tennis. One of Rae's longtime friends, who has often been on the losing end of on-court duels with the premier, is Leonard Wise. A Toronto lawyer who is sharply ready with a wisecrack ("I've got a model—you have to be crazy to believe in that stuff"), Wise is baffled by Rae's seeming inaccessibility at times. "You look at the guy—he has no muscles and he walks like a duck," says Wise. "He is not in touch off, but he is always very, very in contact and persistent."

Education: From Washington, Rae's father was posted to Geneva, Thence, Rae attended a bilingual school for international students and between 1964 and 1968 in history at the University of Toronto. He then moved back to

scholarship at Oxford. He crossed the Atlantic again to return to the University of Toronto, where he completed a law degree in 1977. By the time he was first elected to office as a New Democrat MP in a 1978 federal by-election, he had spent almost as much time living outside of Canada as he had in his home country. Rae's closest friends have not been surprised by his rapid rise in politics. "He is a fiercely ambitious," says Michael Gaffney, a London writer who was Rae's roommate during their undergraduate years at the University of Toronto.

At the same time, Rae is a man of strong emotions—and they frequently leak through the surface of his cerebral reserve. The night of his election victory over former premier David Peterson, Rae said that he cried but he called his parents. And while he can also appear withdrawn and stoic in public, Rae seeks refuge from the stresses of office with his wife, Arlene, and daughters Judith, 13, Lisa, 9 and Rebecca, 7, at their family cottage on Big Balsam Lake near Ottawa. Those trips also offer Rae a chance to spend time with his parents, who own a cottage on a neighboring island. His brother or John, a vice-president at Montreal-based Power Corp and adviser to Liberal leader Jean Charest, is also a frequent visitor to Big Balsam Lake. During a break from constitutional talks in May, Rae came under fire in the legislature when he travelled to his cottage by police helicopter for a weekend. While admitting that he owned the property, Rae said that he was not the owner, the premier declared. "I had not seen my children for about eight days."

Rae has also lived, often in the past, in New Democratic style. Since New Democrats say that let it be close to answer questions. "He is the son of a diplomat who knows socialist parties," one caucus detractor says privately. "He is not a real New Democrat." Other party members have the potential of endangering the firm's chances of re-election and its reform agenda by paying too much attention to the deficit. In a stinging attack published in the September issue of *The Outlook*, New Democrat, the party's magazine, University of Toronto law professor Morton, a former member of the provincial New Democratic Party, wrote: "Barney the suicide bar which most of all, poor Bob, will be a one-term Premier." Still, even if the next two years see Rae's last as premier, his government's reform agenda program will clearly change the face of the province.

PAUL KAHILA

DIFFERENT DRUMMERS

WESTERN NDP PREMIERS PREACH MODERATION

For Roy Romanow, the first 10 months as Saskatchewan's NDP premier have been a series of painful choices. Sidelined with the highest per capita debt of any provincial government in Canada and a farm-based economy that has been hit by years of drought and low grain prices, the 53-year-old premier has abandoned some of the landmark economic measures in his province's 87-year history. In his first budget, delivered in May, the Romanow government cut hospital funding by 5.5 per cent over the next two years, slashed 500 civil service jobs and imposed a 20-per-cent across-the-board cut on all income earners to try to help reduce a \$13.3-billion accumulated debt. For Romanow, a lawyer who became a minister of the NDP in the early 1980s shortly after former Saskatchewan premier Tommy Douglas introduced Canada's first medicine program, the toughest decision was to take the scalpel to the province's cherished health care plan.

"We cut 1,000 any sacred cows," Romanow told *Maclean's*, "or we risk losing the entire level."

Romanow's determination to root out spending has been mirrored in British Columbia, where NDP leader Michael Harcourt led his party to victory in October, 1991, on a promise of medical social reform and a balanced provincial budget within five years. The economic policies of both western NDP governments stand in sharp contrast to the example set by Ontario NDP Premier Bob Rae, who, during his first year in office, opted for a large increase in government borrowing as an effort to spur economic growth and to cushion the blow for those hardest hit by the recession. More recently, Rae has taken modest measures to control the deficit, but major policy differences between Ontario and the western NDP provinces remain.

The Romanow and Harcourt governments have taken a much more cautious approach to social change, including labor reform and pay equity. And they appear determined to avoid the big battles that his often aroused rebellion between the Rae administration and Ontario's business community. Still, Saskatchewan NDP M.L.A.

Patricia Atkinson: "There are many people in our caucus who believe that confrontation is not the way to solve problems anymore. You have to find common ground."

The cautious demeanor led by both western NDP governments is partly in response to the Ontario experience. When they were campaigning for office last fall, Romanow and Harcourt tried to fend off opposition accusations that they would emulate Ontario spending practices. But provincial NDP Democrats in Saskatchewan and British Columbia had also been expecting to form governments—and they were well prepared when the time came. By comparison, most Ontario NDP politicians were surprised by their victory in 1990. Said Kenneth Gaetz, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor and a longtime supporter of the provincial NDP: "We had more preparation. We were more cautious. They [New Democrats in Ontario] had no notion they were going to be elected."

The differences between western and Ontario social democrats also have deep historical roots. In Saskatchewan, the NDP and its precursor, the CCF, have ruled the province for 52 of the past 48 years. Over that time, the party elected a reputation for conducting a progressive social agenda with balanced budgets. The need for restraint was hampered more recently by Douglas's treasurer, Clarence Fries, who frequently spoke out against labor government, borrowing by banks, and "the kind of socialism that would make bankers red."

By contrast, the provincial Conservative government led by Grant Devine racked up nine consecutive deficit budgets between 1982 and 1991. Says University of Saskatchewan political scientist David Smith: "By the time he came to power, Devine had an election of spending money out of the province's depression."

In British Columbia, many NDP members are still haunted by the concerns of their last taste of power: the widely criticized administration of former Premier David Lam, which governed the province from 1972 to 1975. Lam's interventionist program, copied by the creation of a provincially owned oil-refining

company, inspired the New York City-based financial weekly *Forbes* to refer to the premier as the "Alfandre of the North"—a reference to the former Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende. "The prevailing view is that the Harcourt government tried to do too much, too soon," said University of British Columbia political scientist Paul Tennant. "As a result, the NDP is almost obsessed with avoiding the mistakes of the past."

Caution in both camps. In both camps, the moderate tone of the western NDP governments is set by their leaders, who each took over the helm of their parties in 1987. Harcourt is a lawyer and former mayor of Vancouver whose law-eyer personal style and penchant for seeking consensus on contentious issues earned him the nickname "Moderate Mike." Romanow, who first won a seat in the Saskatchewan legislature in 1987, later served for 13 years as attorney general, deputy premier and constitutional point man under former premier Allan Rock. Now, Romanow frequently makes allusion to the state of the province's economy has compelled his party to emphasize wealth creation rather than wealth redistribution. "Applying a social democratic theory to this is a bit easy," he told *Maclean's*. "Our traditional philosophy is being challenged and tested."

That caution, along with a decade of underpaid and degraded economic conditions has led the NDP in both Saskatchewan and British Columbia to walk down—or shelve indefinitely—many long-cherished social and economic initiatives. Although committed in principle to pay equity for women in the public sector, both governments have done little more than study how the policy has been implemented in other jurisdictions, including Ontario. Neither is seriously considering following Ontario's lead in extending pay equity to the private sector. Harcourt, for one, is outspokenly skeptical about his government's slow progress. "We owe it to the people of British Columbia to clear," he says. "If the feeling isn't there, we won't spend it."

Harcourt and Romanow are also clearly anxious to avoid antagonizing their respective business communities. In British Columbia, the NDP came to power guaranteeing the swift repeal of sections of the former Social Credit government's labor code, which many union members found offensive. Instead, in February, the administration turned the issue over to a tripartite made up of members from labor, management and an arbitrator acceptable to both. The arbitrator's recommendations, none of which are expected to be far-reaching, will be issued in the fall.

In Saskatchewan, the Romanow government is pursuing a similar policy. Last month, the Romanow government abandoned proposed legislation that would have prevented new unionized companies who were previously allowed to bid on government contracts during the Devine years, from continuing to do so. Instead, the legislature passed a bill that imposed restrictions only on non-unionized companies that begin operations after the law takes effect. The change came after a coalition of 13 Saskatchewan business groups took their concerns about the new labor law and other pro-



Harcourt (left), Rae and Romanow: sharp contrasts between the western and Ontario NDP on economic and social policy

posed initiatives directly to Romanow. According to Dale Botting, a Regina-based director for the Canadian Federation of Independent Business and co-chairman of the new coalition, Romanow has also undertaken to consult extensively with business and labor groups on future legislation that affects their interests. "We're all very conscious of the scrutiny that has come on Ontario," said Botting. "We don't want to get into the situation of digging trenches and lobbing hard grenades across some no man's land."

Reversal: Despite the economic constraints, both western NDP governments have taken a few bold steps. Last December, B.C. Attorney General Michael Atkinson announced that the new government would recognize aboriginal title and the right of natives to govern themselves—a dramatic reversal of positions held by B.C. governments dating back to the province's entry into Confederation in 1871. Just last month, the Saskatchewan NDP awarded some of the most far-reaching reforms to the province's health care system since the introduction of Medicare. Among the

proposed changes the government will re-examine local control over health care by appointing up to 30 new regional health boards across the province, each of which will control the health care budget and direct the way services are delivered over a given geographic area.

Still, the pace of reform is painfully slow for some party activists. Saskatoon M.L.A. Atkinson, for one, ticks off a list of social objectives that she had hoped the NDP could pursue once in office. Among them: increased funding for social housing, day care and drug-and-alcohol treatment centres, and eliminating the need for food banks. Atkinson, a former teacher who served as her party's health critic while in opposition, says that it is "gut-wrenching" to be told that most of these goals are out of reach until the province's economy is stronger. She added, "I spent 10 years involved in politics only to get elected and not be able to do the things that I consider important."

BRIAN BRINGMAN with DALE KESLER in Regina and STEVE WATZMAN in Toronto

A NATION BEYOND HOPE

*And in a random scorching flame
Of wind that parches
The painful throat
And scars the flesh,
May Allah, in His compassion,
Let you find
The good-bought tree
That will protect and shade*
—from a Somali poem, *To A Friend Gazing
On A Journey*, by Mohamed Abdullah Hassan
(translated by Margaret Laurence)

THE WORLD MAY HAVE WAITED TOO LONG TO SAVE SOMALIANS FROM A HOLOCAUST OF WAR AND FAMINE

In a bleak land of smoke and dust along the line in the sand that marks Somalia's border with Kenya, shade and protection are hard to come by. But Hassan Abdullah Hassan, the self-described secretary of defense of the Somali Patriotic Movement, and one of his country's many warlords, has staked out a place far inside under the tanks of a spaced-thrust tank. There, surrounded by grunting, armed soldiers draped in bandoliers of ammunition, and speaking through a translator who identifies himself only as "Major Rambo," Hassan talks of peace in a country that knows none. The casualties of the war he wages walk past his gaze: a continuous parade of weak, hungry and in many cases, wounded Somali refugees looking for the mercy border camps in Libya, Kenya, in search of a haven from famine and fighting.

"I am ready to talk peace," Hassan tells the small assembly of relief workers and other outsiders who sit cross-legged around him at the Somali side of the border. But the refugees fleeing the nation controlled by his troops tell only of war. "We left because there were bodies in the streets," said Mideha Nafar, a 40-year-old widow who fled her home in the broken Oromo coastal city of Kismayu with her four children. "It was not even safe for a woman to go to the market anymore." Last week, Hassan's troops, who form part of deposed dictator Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre's estranged army, contained their epidemic war against the army of political factions that have

already driven them across the Somali interior towards Kenya.

Although much of the heavy fighting has ceased, soldiers and landmines from all factions continue to hold civilian ransom by stealing much of the food and medical aid that is sent to relieve the suffering in the east African country. To try to curtail robberies, the United Nations has announced plans to deploy 3,000 peacekeep-

ers—including 750 Canadian troops, mostly from the Canadian Airborne Regiment at Petawawa, Ont. But most of the troops will not be in Somalia for several weeks. Meanwhile, the International Committee of the Red Cross says that about 1,800 Somalis are dying every day.



Refugees fleeing the countryside for Mogadishu (above); young patients in Lilong hospital (below): a disaster of epic proportions in a land without government

For months, international aid agencies have worried that the combination of a four-year civil war and a three-year-long drought has left two million of Somalia's seven million people in imminent danger of starvation. But last week, the magnitude of the human disaster appeared to worsen. Many affected areas far from the major port cities of Mogadishu and Kismayu, have now been reached little or not at all, United agencies are now reporting that many more people than previously estimated are close to dying in those remote, uncontrolled villages. "We have no far less only the tip of the iceberg," said Mohamed Shabane, the United Nations' special representative to Somalia, in reports of the suffering in distant regions it began filtering in to his headquarters in Mogadishu last week. "A large number of people are just waiting and dying patiently. The disaster is much larger than we thought."

Even as aidships had hastily assembled, Western relief efforts may not avert a vast disaster. U.S. transport planes were joined by others from Germany and Italy last week, and Canada was expected to begin flights this week. But so far, only one Somali town has received a plane load of humanitarian aid. It is Belet Weyne, on the Ethiopian border in central Somalia, which has the only airstrip where the

Red Cross can guarantee sufficient security. An additional 145,000 tons of U.S. food aid is due to arrive in the region in October, but until then, relief planes will be trespassing only the food stocks already in the hands of relief agencies. Members of those agencies say that, whatever happens now, thousands of Somalis are already doomed. "In a very few months, the malnutrition rate is 80 per cent," said Catherine Casanova of the Red Cross International Committee, which is currently providing about half of the food aid in Somalia. "Even if we could get food to these people tomorrow, it would be too late to save many of them."

So far, the well-broadcast promise of massive international food aid has had one effect: it has slowed the flight of Somalis to Kenyan refugee camps, which are already straining from the presence of more than 300,000 desperate people. UN officials said that the flow of Somalis into the five camps along the Kenyan border has declined dramatically, from 1,000 a day just two weeks ago to an average of just 175 each day last week. Said Paoon Mouton, a spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Nairobi. "It is not that food is getting at it, it is more that people are staying put because of the rumors and assurance that food is coming."

Still, both the United Nations and the Re-

World Notes

WRITS OF INSTRUCTION

A powerful earthquake off the coast of Nicaragua unleashed a series of tidal waves, some nearly 40 feet tall, that washed over the country's Pacific coast, killing at least 100 people and leaving more than 200 missing and thousands homeless. President Violeta Chamorro declared most of the 300-km-long Pacific coastline a disaster zone.

SEIKING SANCTUARY

Dignitaries seeking peace-brokered refuge arrived in Germany from Eastern Europe, Africa and elsewhere in the first eight months of the year, surpassing the previous annual record of 956,000 in last year. Police increased security at refugee shelters throughout Germany while politicians debated how to reduce Europe's most critical influx on asylum.

FROM EXILE TO PRISON

Chinese authorities arrested American and French protesters over the arrest of dissident Shen Tong, 24, who returned to China last month from exile in the United States. Shen escaped from China in June, 1989, during a nationwide crackdown for dissidents involved in the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrations.

A DEADLY MISTION

UN officials suspended humanitarian flights to Somalia after an Italian plane carrying supplies to the besieged Bosnian capital crashed, the apparent target of a missile attack. A UN rescue team that recovered the bodies of the two Italian fliers found a hole in the plane's fuselage and pieces of what could be an anti-aircraft missile.

DEMANDS FOR EQUALITY

Members of the New Alliance Movement, a 104-country organization established in 1982 as a counterweight to the United States and the Soviet Union, called for the abolition of veto power at the UN Security Council. Some 100 nations, including that veto power by the five permanent Security Council members—the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China—is a remnant of the Cold War era.

BULGARIAN JUSTICE

A Bulgarian court sentenced former Communist leader Todor Zhivkov to seven years in prison for embarking public funds. Zhivkov faces separate charges of suppressing terrorism, discriminating against ethnic Turks, setting up Socialist labor camps and running the country's economy.

types government are eager to keep the starving Somalis in Somalia—and provide food for them there—because of the enormous problems involved in maintaining the refugee camps. For some of those who have fled, life in some camps is only marginally better than at home. In Mandera, a burgeoning refugee camp in northeastern Kenya that absorbs the part of Somalia where Barre's troops are putting up the most resistance, 56,000 refugees suffer from a malnutrition rate of 43 per cent, according to UN officials.

Other refugee camps have other problems. Somalia has been coming to Libos since April, 1991, turning its highland sprawl of huts into a village of 45,000. The camp functions like the small city that it is: a maze of dirt roads, with a hospital, schools, and merchants who sell av-

eraging following a protracted settling of scores. One man died, and two others had to be evacuated by plane to a hospital in Kenya. Outside the camp hospital that had passed for an emergency room, a weary Dr. Claudia Kessler of France's leukemia medical aid group, Doctors Without Borders, said that the violence makes it too dangerous for rebel fighters to venture outside their own secure compounds after dark. "We lose quite a lot of patients at night simply because we cannot be here," she added.

The policies of Somalia's new leadership also worries the Kenyan government, which in the 1960s fought bloody skirmishes with its neighbor. Always uncomfortable with the large Somali minority living in eastern Kenya, officials now blame Somali refugees for an increase in

150 million in additional aid to the region, not all of which appears to be coming out of the nation's treasury. In July, Arnold Johnson, an expatriate official with Employment and Immigration, reduced an appeal by two Somali sisters who wanted to remain in Canada on humanitarian grounds. The women argued that they were victims of the civil war. But in his written response, Johnson said that he did "not believe that any unusual, undeserved or disproportionate hardship would be caused if they are removed from Canada," adding that "the interim government is currently working to resolve any chance of serious problems."

But the interim government referred to by Johnson is headed by Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who now controls a small section of northern Mog-



Benhadin Abukar watching his son, Hawaya, 3, die in Baidoa; it may already be too late to save them

everything from soap to guns and medicines from the front of their houses. Under the care and feeding of aid workers, severe malnutrition is linked to the most recent refugees. Unlike those left behind in the west-hemlock of Somalia, the children of Libos must eat, and are even sent to school.

But sightless barbs remain to the refugee camp. Although Kenyan authorities now receive new arrivals for weapons, guns are abundant in Libos—and violence is endemic. In the camp hospital compound one day last month, doctors treated six people for gunshot wounds, four of them from shootings inside the

violent zone in Nairobi, the capital. And although Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi has delivered speeches urging compassion for Somalis, his government frequently accuses aid workers living in Nairobi and ships them to the UN refugee camps.

But the Somali crisis has also blurred the records of governments and officials elsewhere. After a three-hour tour of Mogadishu last week, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd acknowledged that the world had failed to react fast enough to the disaster. And although Clinton has already given \$17.8 million in humanitarian aid to Somalia and pledged

aid, but is clearly weaker than the faction of the United Somali Congress led by Gen. Mohamed Farrah Aidid. Mide's authority is questionable in even the parts of Somalia he purports to control, although he maintains the facade of governing the chaotic country through such gestures as appointing a minister of education in a country where there are no functioning schools. As the pace of international aid picks up, it is becoming increasingly clear that a disaster of epic proportions has gripped a lost without government—or hope.

BRUCE WALLACE in Libos

THE UNITED STATES

A political battle of the sexes

Women candidates are challenging men's control of Congress



Yonkel (center) campaigning in Pennsylvania; a record number of women are running for the House and Senate

According to the latest census figures, women make up 51 per cent of America's 248 million people. But despite significant gains made over the past two decades, women remain an underrepresented force in U.S. politics. In the current Congress, there are only two women in the 435-seat Senate and just 38 among the 435 members of the House of Representatives. That may soon change.

In this election year, proclaimed the Year of the Woman by many Americans, a record number of female candidates are running the high office. Many of them say that they become candidates to challenge men, not to dominate politics of contemporary America. In Pennsylvania, where incumbent Republican Senator Arlen Specter is in the fight of his political life against Democratic upstart Lynn Yonkel, a recent caller to a late-night radio talk show expressed the most mystification about why women reform. Said the caller: "The 42 years old, I have two kids—I'm not a feminist, I don't have an agenda

But I'm voting for Lynn Yonkel because it's time." And, to emphasize her point, she repeated: "It's time to put women into high office."

The Housewives race in only one of many where high-profile, highly organized and well-financed women candidates are dominating state legislatures. In the Nov. 3 election, a record 18 women are bidding for Senate seats. 16 of them Democrats. And 142 women are running for the House of Representatives, 88 of them Democrats. The women Democratic candidates, and even many of their Republican counterparts, are taking their campaigns on so-called women's issues, such as abortion rights and equal opportunity. But, cautioned Rosanne Sweet, a former president of the influential National Organization for Women, victory in November would just be a start. "Even if we double the numbers in Congress, which I doubt, we will not even reach 16 per cent," said Sweet. "It would be a hard forward but a woman still be at the table level."

Among male incumbents, Pennsylvania's

Specter is particularly vulnerable because he was the Republican designated to run in last fall's controversial, intensely televised Senate re-election campaign. Although an Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. They focused on University of Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill's accusation that Thomas, her former boss at Washington's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, sexually harassed her. Specter aggressively challenged Hill's testimony—and publicly accused her of perjury. The 14-member, all-male committee ultimately supported Thomas. But the senator's dogged performance at the hearings generated outrage and resentment among many women who claimed that the panel, and Specter in particular, had treated Hill unfairly. As well, they charged, American politics is dominated by an old boys club that misunderstands the needs and concerns of women.

That ground swell of anger could cost the 42-year-old Specter a third term in office. Opinion polls show the veteran running even

with Yonkel, 54, but among women voters the senator took the challenge by easily 2 to 1. Said G. Terry Madonna, director of the Center for Politics and Public Affairs at Pennsylvania's Middlebury University: "Anna Hall became the symbol of the powerlessness of women politicians." He added, "Lynn Yonkel symbolizes the world-famous political superstition of women."

Still, the Pennsylvania campaign will be hard fought. Specter has picked Yonkel as a one-issue candidate—running on the Anna Hall hearings. One of his closest supporters, Larry Yonkel, a former state Democratic party chairman, also attacked her. Yonkel declared Yonkel and women candidates in general by accusing them of aping to the electorate: "Listen, I've got breasts—vote for me." To counter charges that he is unsympathetic to women's

aspirations, Specter's endorsed male candidate, the House majority last March, Democratic Carol Mowday Braun, a little-known municipal official, currently head the powerful incumbent, Senator Alan Duane Braun, a fairly 44-year-old lawyer, former federal prosecutor and state representative, now leads his Republican opponent, lawyer Richard Williams, by at least a 2-to-1 margin in opinion polls. If she prevails in November, she will become the first black woman in the Senate.

Braun's early success as the woman underdog, activists argue, give instant credibility to other little-known contenders like Yonkel and provided momentum to many of the women's campaigns. In California, where both Senate seats are being contested, Congresswoman Barbara Boxer and former San Francisco may-

orolest breakthrough by women. Braun, Boxer, Feinstein, Peters and Yonkel are among a crop of women who have been growing themselves for a generation to ensure senior leadership roles in political life. Aside from being senators in their professions—from law and medicine to business and education—they earned their political stripes on the lower rungs of the ladder as municipal representatives, school trustees, mayors and members of state legislatures. Said Betty Dooley, executive director of the Washington-based Women's Research and Education Institute: "Twenty years of the women's movement in the United States has led the groundwork for 1990."

Reality was often hard to help the new women candidates. Brady's Lost—Early Money



Specter (left), Hall at Judiciary hearings last year: the senator provoked outrage and resentment

issues Specter has launched a \$1 million advertising campaign, including testimonials from women he has helped, to portray himself as a strong supporter of such issues as abortion rights.

But as Pennsylvania wobbles with an unemployment rate of 7.7 per cent—the national average—and the loss of 9,500 manufacturing jobs in July alone, political analysts say that Specter, as an accountant, is vulnerable to criticism from Yonkel on another vital issue: the failed economy. Said Yonkel's media consultant, Mark Thomas: "The issue is John Specter and whether the people in Pennsylvania think the quality of life has gotten better in the past 12 years [during Republican control of the White House]. By every measure it hasn't."

After the Thomas hearings, women count of lawmakers' campaigns as federal and state races—often fighting pitched primary battles

or Duane Robinson sustained that hard-won respect by winning Democratic primaries in June. Boxer now faces arch-conservative Bruce Blomquist, whose extreme views on abortion have driven pro-choice Republicans (those who lose wide access to abortion) away from their own party to the Democrats. And the lively Feinstein from a clear incumbent in Senator John Seymour.

Even Gerikline Peters has staged a rebirth from the land of the political dead. After financial scandals fagged his campaign as Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale's running mate in 1984, Peters deserted into relative obscurity. Now, politics have let over her two rivals in next week's primary in New York. The winner will face Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato in November.

The Anna Hall controversy is only one of the issues that analysts are predicting at least a

Herbert Woods, who heads the bipartisan National Women's Political Caucus: "American families are trading water and they will sink unless someone shows them a rope at just when it's laid. Women see women as problem-solvers with integrity."

Become America's political fortress is caused by critics, the women attempting the gain may have an advantage this year. "Voters are saying, 'Sheep them out,'" said Sen. Jane Darwell, executive director of the Women's Campaign Fund, a bipartisan organization supporting pro-choice women candidates, added: "We're the beneficiaries of throwing the issues out. And there are many more male issues." As the November election approaches, the up-and-battle of the women is first and center in the American political stage.

BILLY MACKENZIE in Philadelphia



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SPEYSIDE SENDS ITS BEST.



Bank of Montreal's Davenport speculates that American officials 'feel the lower U.S. dollar is going to help'

BUSINESS

BUCKING A TREND

For 40 years after the end of the Second World War, the American dollar dominated international currency markets. Even after the industrial resurgence of Germany and Japan began to have a major effect on world trade in the 1970s, the fortunes of the mark and the yen on markets still depended largely on how well they performed against the greenback. But since the mid-1980s, the dollar has been taking a beating from various economic factors. And last week, amid chaos on world money markets, the dollar dropped to its lowest level in nearly half a century. Some analysts even speculated that the worldwide supremacy of the dollar may be coming to an end.

The dollar's slide is one of two major stresses contributing to the financial turmoil. The other is the rise of the German mark, fuelled by high interest rates. At the same time, over Europe's move towards monetary union, the stresses of ties—and currency unions—of Britain, France, Italy and other currencies are closely tied to those of Germany. The increase in the

A FRAIL ECONOMY AND UNUSUALLY HIGH GERMAN INTEREST RATES DRAG DOWN THE GREENBACK

mark's value is putting enormous pressure on the pound, the franc and the French franc. Meanwhile, the trends have severe implications for international trade, for investors, and for nations.

The balance of the dollar and the mark are primarily the result of conflicting government policies in Washington and Bonn. In an attempt to stimulate a sluggish domestic economy, the

U.S. Federal Reserve Board has dropped its prime rate to not over one and a half percent, and it is unlikely that President George Bush's administration will try to close up the dollar by raising rates in an election year. At the same time, in an effort to cool inflationary forces created by massive spending on roadshows, Germany has rolled up its prime rate to 11.50 per cent. American have reacted by selling greenbacks—and Canadian dollars, which mostly follow the U.S. currency—and buying marks.

Campaigning Democrats say that a lack of confidence in the President's economic progress, not low interest rates, are responsible for the dollar's collapse. The White House, in turn, denied these charges and a spokesman said that the United States did not want the dollar to drop any lower. But it was not clear what could be done to stop the several currencies, notably Japan, Germany and France, have tried to keep by buying huge amounts of American dollars but the tactic has not worked.

Several economists have noted that Washington has shown little concern about the dol-

lar. "They're not saying this is a crisis," said Bank of Montreal senior vice-president Barry Davenport, a foreign-currency specialist. "The conclusion is that they feel the lower U.S. dollar is going to help stimulate their economy." He added "If that is the case, then very little will happen to Canada except that the Canadian dollar against some of these other currencies has weakened significantly. That doesn't make a big difference because our major trading partner is the United States."

The only danger for Canada, Davenport said, would arise if the United States undertook drastic action, particularly by increasing interest rates, to protect its dollar. If that happened, he said, Canada might have to intervene to lift Canadian rates.

The growing strength of the mark, reinforced by investors' disenchantment with the dollar, has created problems for other European Community members, which are required to keep their currencies in close relationship to Germany's. There are at least two incentives to ease the strain, but few countries are willing to adopt them. One is to raise interest rates and perhaps import controls to reduce the

Other is devaluation, which would raise imports and foreign-currency borrowing more expensive and might lead to inflation. Last week, Britain took a third approach by borrowing the equivalent of \$17.1 billion. Britain will sell the borrowed five pounds, which will tend to strengthen the British currency.

Meanwhile, for Americans and Canadians, whose dollars usually match to the same denominator, the situation in Britain and Europe have become prohibitively expensive. In June, the greenback would buy 1.68 German marks, and the Canadian dollar, 1.33; on Aug. 30, the American dollar was worth only 1-61, the

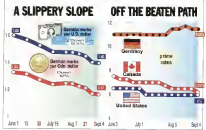
Canadian, 1.58. In the late 1980s, the U.S. dollar and the pound were of nearly equal value. Last week, the pound cost \$2.50. The consequences have been dramatic. North American travellers to England report paying the equivalent of \$7 for a bowl of ice cream and \$450 a night for some hotel rooms.

Still, Canadian traffic to Europe has remained fairly strong. Tom Shaffer, American Express Canada's vice-president for public affairs, said that the Toronto-based company's travel business "is doing up over 1990, although I guess if that went on for a while, we would notice something." Added Shaffer: "But Canadians are such committed travellers that if Europe gets too expensive, they'll find some place to go."

While North Americans vacationing abroad have found that their money is buying less and less, tourists from Asia and Europe are finding a bonanza in the shops and sights of Canada and the United States. In New York City, Los Angeles, Vancouver and Toronto, Italian, British, German and Japanese are leading up to merchandise that would be much more expensive at home. As a result, British travel agencies have begun offering transatlantic Christmas-shopping specials. British Airways has airline and hotel packages to New York costing about \$500 in American funds.

In the currency markets of the world, the centrepiece of the monetary drama will continue to be the fate of the greenback. In fact, it may be undergoing a fundamental and lasting change. Its passive international supremacy may decline sharply as the mark and the yen become the currencies of choice among holders of foreign currencies. Only a quick end to the recession, leading to a modest increase in interest rates, is likely to restore the dollar to its once-prime dominance of world trade—and to its respect as the currency of choice for the transfer of funds from every corner of the world.

RAE CORRELLI with correspondence reports



Business Notes

A NEW OFFER
Montreal-based Air Canada made what company president Rolf Harris described as the airline's "last and best" offer for its Canadian Airlines International Ltd. Harris said that the proposal reflected his concerns that Canadian Airlines' parent company, Calgary-based P&N Corp., had expressed concern about previous offers. Under the latest offer, each airline would retain a separate president and chief operating officer in their respective headquarters, with boards of directors will decide about the offer. The offer is due to expire, Sept. 9, along with a \$150-million proposal from a group of Canadian Airlines employees seeking to buy their company.

SOLVE IT, FOR NOW
A tentative agreement between New York City-based J. P. Morgan & Co. and Olympia & York Development Ltd., the financially troubled real estate company, has renewed the likelihood, at least temporarily, that only U.S. dollars will file for bankruptcy protection. The U.S. division is the only part of the Reichman family empire that remains legally solvent, after the Canadian and British operations filed for court protection in May.

ROOM AT THE TOP
Michael Cornshead, 46, president and chief executive officer since 1983 of Royal Trustco Ltd., Canada's second-largest trust company with assets of \$36 billion, announced that he will step down effectively next April. Cornshead, who first offered his resignation in 1994 after the Toronto-based company reported its first-ever loss, in 1996, of \$68 million on revenues of \$5 billion, will be a member of the committee to choose his successor.

GIVING UP
There were 1.61 million Canadians looking for a job in August, keeping the national unemployment rate at 21.6 per cent for the third consecutive month. But Statistics Canada reported that about 90,000 so-called discouraged workers have in fact stopped trying to find a job.

VEGGIE WARS
In a new round of escalating trade wars between Canada and the United States, Canada stepped up its demand for U.S. cattle. Borens reported that British Columbia's new duties are 25 cents a pound and follow out of a Revenue Canada preliminary ruling that during 1991, American beefwater scored the province at prices that were, on average, 46 per cent below the cost of production.

The boardroom exodus

Corporate directors are fleeing troubled companies

Richard McCloskey was 29 years old when miners cursed the last lead of ore out of the Matchewen gold mine near the small Northern Ontario community of Elk Lake in 1982. Now, McCloskey, 41, a junior resource promoter, is waiting for a court to sentence him later this year after an Ontario court judge ruled him to be partially responsible for the environmental damage

companies' employees. In other cases, directors, including McCloskey, have been convicted of environmental offences, which often carry stiff fines and even jail sentences.

Directors, acting as the shareholders' representatives, are, by law, the people ultimately responsible for a company's actions. But, in practice, directors, who are usually paid only a few thousand dollars for their services each

The severe recession has pushed many companies towards bankruptcy, and directors of financially troubled companies are more likely to be exposed to risks. As well, governments, employees and creditors are more aggressive about pursuing directors. And the legal responsibilities of directors have been growing slowly but steadily for 20 years. Robert Gosselin, a corporate lawyer with Lang Macdonald of Toronto, says that he has counted more than 1,000 federal and provincial statutes that place a liability on directors for paying everything from the CRR to vacation pay for employees who lose their jobs if a company retools staff or declares bankruptcy. Ultimately, the directors also have to pay for the costs of personal savings embankments to pay the liabilities of the company's assets. Other legislation, particularly environmental laws, adds more responsibilities.

McCloskey's case demonstrates the dilemma that directors face. McCloskey's father, who was also charged but who died before the case came to trial, acquired the defunct Matchewen gold mine and holdings deep seven years after it had closed. Although the case was played out, it is common practice in the junior mining industry for promoters to use such so-called shell companies for future development projects. The holdings spill occurred in October, 1986, after more than two weeks of heavy rainfall. A lake overflowed into the tailings dump, which then washed into the Montreal River. McCloskey says that neither he nor government mine inspectors and environmental officials who had visited the property just three months before the flood, or even residents of the area, knew that a heavier dam had changed the drainage pattern of the area.

Under pressure from the heavy rainfall, the water broke through the dam and caused the tailings dump—a huge pile of coarse sand left over from the ore-extraction process—to wash into the river. McCloskey says that a house was flooded, a truck got stuck in the slide and residents of the area, who depended on the river for their drinking water, feared that the tailings contained toxic chemicals that contaminated the water. "It was a frightening thing and I would have been devastated if anyone had lost their life," said McCloskey. "If we had known about the heavier dam, we could have blown it. But the tailings had been there for 40 years and an ore-related failure was a problem."

Ultimately, however, the water was not found to be hazardous to the public's health. James Dewa, district officer with the Ministry of Environment in the Toronto district, said that the main problem was toxicity. The plane of sand took 40 days to completely move out of the river. Said McCloskey bitterly, "Essentially, I was convicted of mobilizing the water."

McCloskey has already paid \$15,000 to

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McCloskey: "I don't think it is reasonable that the mine should come back on me."

caused by a combination of the old mine's waste pile, its increasingly heavy rainfall and an ill-fated heavier dam. McCloskey and his father, Paul, were directors of Matchewen Consolidated Mines Ltd., which owned the mineral rights to the old mine property. The younger man's conviction illustrates the new responsibilities—and potential dangers—faced by members of company boards.

The issue of director's liability—the degree to which individual directors are personally responsible for their company's actions—is hot and contentious. Within the past two months alone, directors of three major Canadian corporations, Prospector Jewellers Ltd., Hsu Corp. and Western Mining Ltd., have resigned because of concerns that they could be legally liable for millions of dollars worth of obligations to their

year, often tied to strictly public stock management's decisions. Prominent individuals accept directorships because traditionally they have been considered an honor. In return, companies benefit from the experience and prominence of the directors they attract. The growing awareness of the extent of potential liabilities is causing some directors, even those whose companies have no immediate problems, as well as developers of charitable and cultural boards, to reconsider their willingness to serve. But others insist that directors must shoulder the responsibilities. Said Jerry Berrington, a Ministry of Environment lawyer who has prosecuted directors: "If corporate behavior is going to be modified, it has to start at the top."

The recent evolution in actions aimed at directors is a result of several developments.

winds reaping the damage and has agreed to a \$400,000 fine against the property's owner, Wulfsberg. When he is sentenced later this year, he could be fined as much as \$15,000 a day for the length of the offence or even sent to jail. McCloskey chose not to accept a settlement offered earlier by the Crown prosecutor that would have cost \$50,000 fine. "It was the principle," he said. "I don't think that it is reasonable that the blame should all come back on me." He added that although he could not afford a lawyer for the final proceedings, he hopes that the facts are compelling enough that the judge will accept his sentence. As a result of the arrest, McCloskey says that he has stopped working

on. Those costs, shared by just a handful of directors, could wipe out their entire net worth. Within days of the first Wulfsberg investigations, the corporate blue-blooded members of the board of PMA Corp., the parent company of Calgary-based Canadian Airlines International Ltd., stepped down from their positions on the boards of the corporation's affiliated companies. They came to serve as directors of the parent PMA Corp. The directors, including Quebec Senator Claude Castonguay, former chairman of the Laurentian Bank of Canada, Canada's Pacific Ltd. chairman William Stronach and former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, resigned apparently because, like the Wulfsbergs,

faced by two directors of Beta Industries Ltd., the Ontario-based Canadian operating company of a multinational shoe manufacturer. In the Beta case, the Ministry of the Environment charged the two, who are also employees of the company, along with company chairman Thomas Beta and the company itself with failing to take reasonable care to prevent an accidental discharge of waste. The waste included chemical solvents for the shoe manufacturing process and cleaning solvents that had been accumulating in steel drums on company property in Barrie, in eastern Ontario, for at least two years.

Earlier this year, Beta himself was acquitted of the charges. But the Ontario Provincial Court fined the company \$120,000 and the directors, Keith Weston and Douglas MacPherson, \$12,000 each. To the surprise and consternation of many corporate officers, Judge Schuselk Ontario added one final and important condition to the fine. He ordered the directors to pay the firm personally, he said that they could not be reimbursed in any way by the company for their expenses. (The decision is under appeal.)

Leslie Greenbaum, Beta Industries' secretary and assistant general counsel, says that government officials set out to make an example of the company. The charges were laid in the middle of the last provincial election campaign, he said, one day before the sitting environment minister, James Bevilacqua, made a speech promising to crack down on environmental polluters like New Brunswick, under leader Rob Koop, was the election in September, 1990.

The Crown prosecutor in the Beta case, Jerry Herlihy, denies that the shoe manufacturer was singled out for special attention, citing more than 15 other prosecutions that have been laid against companies since the province's *Responsible Protection Act* became law in 1986. But Herlihy is adamant about the importance of targeting corporate directors. "When a corporation is prosecuted, it can be an embarrassing thing, but it gets the fine and comes on," he said. "The real changes to corporate behavior are only going to come when the people who have the power to make the decisions decide to treat the environment with as much respect as their profit."

Meanwhile, until the corporate community takes on new responsibilities fully at account, the modest benefits of a corporate deregulation are occasionally going to be overwhelmed by serious liabilities.

BRENDA DULGUTH



Open-pit coal mine in southwestern British Columbia: fears of long-term personal liability

on Canadian projects "told some society comes back into the picture." He is now working in South America and Africa.

In other cases, directors who threaten looming liability problems are choosing to head for high ground before the fact: In Vancouver, Western Mining Ltd., a newly bankrupt coal mining company, had been negotiating with creditors in an attempt to survive. In late July, Wulfsberg's six outside directors resigned because they said that they feared they might personally be held responsible for any unpaid pension contributions, wages and severance pay for employees.

On Aug. 24, the three remaining directors, who were also company employees, resigned. Said former president Lawrence Bell: "We wanted to resign until what we considered was the last possible point when the company will have been available to meet its obligations." If they had stayed on, Bell says, he and his two colleagues could have been held responsible for paying subsequent wages. And that, just to meet the province's employment standards legislation, could amount to several thousand dollars for each of the company's 2,000 employ-

ees. Those costs, shared by just a handful of directors, could wipe out their entire net worth. Within days of the first Wulfsberg investigations, the corporate blue-blooded members of the board of PMA Corp., the parent company of Calgary-based Canadian Airlines International Ltd., stepped down from their positions on the boards of the corporation's affiliated companies. They came to serve as directors of the parent PMA Corp. The directors, including Quebec Senator Claude Castonguay, former chairman of the Laurentian Bank of Canada, Canada's Pacific Ltd. chairman William Stronach and former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, resigned apparently because, like the Wulfsbergs,

Then, on Aug. 27, five outside directors of Peoples Jewellers Ltd., which is losing money because of the failure of its U.S. jewelry retailer Zale Corp. and a slumping economy, walked away from their board. But, unlike Wulfsberg and PMA, Peoples devised a way to protect its directors. It arranged a financial trust, holding enough money to cover the obligations the directors could face if the company failed. The company then appointed new directors to replace those who had resigned.

Although the trust fund solution appears to have worked for Peoples, it will not solve the problem for all companies that face similar dilemmas. "It is no panacea," said lawyer Crautwin. "If a company is in financial difficulty, the odds of a having enough available cash to set aside a trust fund to protect directors are not good."

Not would a trust fund solve the problem



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Saying "Yes" to Canada's destiny

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The Oct. 26 referendum will be a contest between heritage and aspiration, as the virtues of the past compete with the risks of the future.

What we have to ask is far more important than what there is to gain. Henry Havelock Ellis (the British essayist) once defined progress as "the exchange of one source for another." The current constitutional deal is a bit like that, as crumbling provisions yielding of last estate to contemporary life and effect the culmination of a governance process that barely works now.

But, a "Yes" vote will grant future Canadian governments at all levels a revolutionary mandate that demands the timely complaints Canadians have about their politicians, they have their country and won't give it up. In a world where UN membership has jumped by 14 per cent in the past five years, no formerly free nations have opted to break up into their components, that's an important bit of faith.

A "No" vote would grant precisely the opposite message: that Canadians have become so accustomed with the petty constitutional responsibilities of their regional dependencies that they would rather lose their country than assume a wilderness away from their production, or hold out their hands in a gesture of neither standing nor goodwill. It's entirely to be expected that the only significant political move exists to come out on the negative side of the equation have been the Parti Quebecois and the Bloc Quebecois—both dedicated to their own brands of separatism that will break up the country and destroy the Canadian dream.

This study of the deal's opportunity in English Canada have concentrated their anger on Robert Bourassa's slippery tactics during the constitutional negotiations and the seemingly endless roller of Quebec's demands. What they fail to recognize is that if Quebec separates, the rest of Canada in the long term could not and would not survive. We would inevitably slide into being absorbed by the United States, a fate that

These natural endowments, which we so conveniently take for granted, dominate what Rod calls "the international community's lip-service provision" of Canada, for the very good reason that very few other countries share the beauty and expense of our land.

Except in France, few nations share ours of our constitutional problems, and one of the few secessions offered that Canada, mostly in the Asian countries surveyed, are complaints about racism in the treatment of our aboriginals. Another criticism dealt with the fact that so much of our foreign policy merely follows U.S. initiatives.

One factor that will assure Canadians is the international community's almost unanimous rejection of the notion (so dear to many of us) that this is a dull country to live in or visit. While there was a strong overall rejection of the Canadian angst that we're boring, Americans surveyed were particularly high on travelling here, with 80 per cent adequately rating Canada as the exciting place to be.

The survey agreed with a previous study that ranked Canada as the best country in the world for the quality of life enjoyed by its citizens. The factors measured that led to this desirable conclusion included public measures of environmental concern, degree of personal freedom, safety of our banking system, provision of adequate social welfare, and above all, our health care system.

The Rod poll recorded the view of all familiar to Canadians that the cost of our universal social program is inflated into very high tax rates. That was especially true of Canadians who were also surveyed for their perception of their happiness. Fully 80 per cent replied in anguish that unless we are paying too damn much tax, there was almost as high a level of agreement on how Canadians feel about their governments. "More than any other country in the poll," Rod reported, "Canadians dislike their government. Far more than the past decade, liberal governments in Canada, regardless of their political stripe, have spent most of the time living in one-way public opposition. Not is the citizen's antipathy reserved for the federal level of government. In part the past couple of years, there has been a changing of the guard in a number of provinces, and some of the misdeeds are so unpopular as their federal cousins."

What the international survey really proves is that we know as well as we love us. Residents who have relatives here or have visited Canada feel only good vibes about us. Maybe it's time we began to love ourselves a little. In the next seven weeks, that will mean ignoring the negative connotations placed on the referendum's possible rejection, because any constitution hammered together anywhere at any time is bound to be less than perfect. That one was defined by 15 politicians and four aboriginal leaders, all of whom put their personal interests on the line in agreeing to compromise some of their treasured goals.

Maybe the 20th century never really did belong to us but if we don't, as a country vote "Yes" on Oct. 26, we won't belong to the 21st.

The real issue of the Oct. 26 referendum is deciding whether we have a future—not the shape of what that future will be

few Canadians would sanction or applaud.

That's why the real issue of the referendum is deciding whether we have a future—not the shape of what that future will be. Few citizens have more trouble appreciating their self-worth than Canada. We continue to put ourselves down, while the citizens of just about every other country on earth are basking in our immigration offices, trying to get in.

That across-the-board boomerang Michael Deves, former publisher of The Winnipeg Free Press in Winnipeg, Ont., after a recent world tour. "If you want someone in Europe and tell them you're Canadian," he told pollster Angus Reid, "they regard you as someone who comes from one of the most privileged countries in the world. They really don't understand why we would ever want to break up such a rich, prosperous and democratic society." The two most volunteered facts to survey 4,500 citizens at 15 countries about their views of Canada. The study also backed by the Royal Bank of Canada, Southern Air and Baker Bros. Inc., published earlier this year under the title *Canada and the World*, turned out to be a fascinating document.

Understandably, the prevailing image of Canada abroad is that of "lakes, mountains, granite, forests, snow, wide open spaces."

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Spassky (left) meets Fischer in Game 7, still brilliant, and still outspoken

CHESS

All the right moves

Bobby Fischer reignites the world of chess

There were playful charges leveled by the passage of time, but chess master Bobby Fischer behaved much as he had during his earlier period of fame. Bored and restless, he was 33 years ago, the American chess master emerged from two decades of seclusion to work with several of his old trainers—brilliant play and outspoken views—still clearly evident. Before beginning a historic rematch with his old rival, 30-year-old Boris Spassky, in the Yugoslav resort of Sveti Stefan, Fischer, 46, denounced current world champion chess players. He also sent on a letter from the U.S. Treasury Department warning that his match was a breach of the 1948 embargo against what was then Yugoslavia. Then, in the opening game of the chess match, which Fischer won 69 scores over six hours, the American showed that the years had not dulled his ability. San Lorenzo Drey, a freelance, On-line international chess master who read press reports of the game "Spassky played one of the best that was his best," when he was a world champion, so it's not surprising Fischer was prepared for a 20-year war.

The stakes are high. The winner will receive a \$4-million prize and the runner-up gets \$2 million. The lucrative match against Spassky, a

former Soviet champion who now lives in France, was arranged and sponsored by Swiss banker Joel White, who put up \$5 million as prize money. In their second game, the two men agreed to a draw after 4½ grueling hours of play. Their third game, on Saturday, also ended in a draw.

The match was the return to international competition of a controversial chess genius who rose to prominence in 1970—and was faded quickly from view. As a teenager, Fischer had prodigy from Brooklyn, N.Y., Fischer played brilliantly to defeat Spassky in the world championships in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1972. The match, played at the height of the Cold War, took place amid intense security arrangements by U.S. and Soviet officials. At one point during the championship, Soviet security men were assisted in dismantling Fischer's chair to see if it contained secret electronic equipment to enable him to have expert consulting from hidden advisors. They found nothing.

In spite of its intense political overtones, the Reykjavik match featured brilliant chess play. Fischer's victory over the United States the world chess championship for the first time ever, and the brilliance of both players sparked an international revival of popular interest in chess. In Sveti Stefan, Yugoslavian grandmas-

ter Brenda Stokovic said of the match 20 years ago "It was probably one of the best world championships ever."

Fischer lost his title three years later, when the International Chess Federation in Lucerne, Switzerland, took it away after he refused to defend the title against Russian Anatoly Karpov. Fischer said at the time that he felt that he had not been offered enough money. After that, he appeared to become increasingly reclusive. Living an elusive existence in California, he made few public appearances. During a four-month period in 1981, Fischer played 17 games of chess, with Greek-born grandmaster Peter Bysanov in San Francisco—and

won them all. Bysanov told reporters later that while they were playing, Fischer carried several newspapers filled with headlines like "From China and Mexico Bysanov and that Fischer told him: 'If the Communists come to prison me, I don't want to make it easy for them.' According to a former chess associate, Fischer, during the same period, had all his dental fillings replaced because he feared that Soviet agents might be able to transmit damaging rays into his brain through the metal in his teeth.

In Sveti Stefan, Fischer behaved at times as though he was still the world champion of chess. Before the match, he cheered that he wanted to compete against Karpov, who currently is rated as one of the world's top chess players, as well as Gary Kasparov, the current world champion. (Kasparov is a native of Azerbaijan, a former Soviet republic.) Fischer, who was accompanied by a Swiss bodyguard, a 19-year-old Hungarian chess star, declared that he is currently working as a book about a series of world championship matches between Karpov and Kasparov during the past eight years. By defeating Karpov in 1985, Kasparov became world champion. Describing Karpov as "the greatest chess player since the Soviet Union," Fischer charged, without giving any explanation, that their matches were rigged.

The Fischer-Spassky tournament could be a lengthy and expensively affair. It is scheduled to move inland to Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital, in one to one game. Fischer has been in games, but chess experts noted that in the past, Fischer had often dropped out of tournaments unexpectedly. Win or lose, Fischer could pay a still possibly big fee taking part in the match as Yugoslav and Under U.S. law, the chess master could face up to 10 years in prison or a \$250,000 fine for ignoring American-supported United Nations sanctions against Yugoslavia.

NORA UNDERWOOD and
correspondents report

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Going to new lengths

Longer hemlines may strengthen retailers

There is an old axiom that when women start lowering their hemlines, it signals an economic downturn. But this fall, retailers are hoping that a new fashion trend towards longer skirts will give the economy—or at least their own sales—new strength. At Holt Renfrew & Co. Ltd., Canada's ultra-fashionable and expensive department-store chain, many store managers last week displayed skirts with hemlines that had plunged to mid-calf, from and thigh just a few months ago. "We have had a phenomenal reaction to the long skirts," said Barbara Atlas, the company's Toronto-based fashion director. "It looks like our customers like them." But many women say that they are dismayed at the sudden attempt by designers and retailers to tug their skirts down. "They just raised me without skirts," said Jane Luciole, a Bay Street banker who is considering her fall work wardrobe options. "Now they want me out!"

Canada's fashion industry needs an infusion of cash. Along with the rest of the nation's retail sector, it has been hit hard by the worst recession since the 1930s, the introduction of the GST in 1991, a cross-border shopping crisis, and even by Canada's recent soft winters, and the nation's uncertain weather. Long skirts—if women decide to buy them—would provide help for retailers, because the new long look features not only plunging hemlines, but a return to high heels, new color-coordinated stockings and longer winter coats. Vancouver-based marketing consultant Arie Gosselin said that the designers' and retailers' decision to drop hemlines represented "a conscious effort to create new interest." But Gosselin added that the profit-motivated strategy would succeed only if designers create styles that women really like. "The consumer today is not going to be dictated to by a fashion designer," she said.

Uncertainty over how women will greet the drastic change is forcing retailers to be extraordinarily cautious about introducing new fashions. As a result, designers are offer-



From U.S. designer Cynthia Rowley's fall collection: drastic

ing store suits with as many as five different options: short skirts, long skirts, skirts and pants. And many stores are carrying the fall line on their racks.

Members of the entire fashion industry, from designers to magazine editors are bringing their best to the new look by suggesting that women buy one long skirt just to try it

Shelley Black, editor of *Flare* magazine, which like *Madison* is published by Maclean Hunter Ltd., said that "*Madison* is about clean clean days." *Flare* has featured some of the new long skirts in its fashion layouts, but Black noted in an August editorial that she remains "committed to above-the-knee" for her own skirts. Still Black of the longer skirts: "They look great on tall women, but I am not that tall, and they just don't look right on me."

Deborah Russell, a shopper browsing through a rack of skirts at Fairweather, a high-fashion, moderately priced women's winter store in downtown Toronto, said that she does not favor the new long lengths. Russell, at five feet, those skirts, is almost a foot shorter than many of the models featured in the fashion layouts. "I will not be buying one," she said. "I don't need to look four-foot-tall!"

Serge Sessaul, who runs the Montreal fashion boutique Serge and Sidi, says that although 66 per cent of the skirts he sold in August were short, he expects that the longer skirts will become more popular in the fall. "It is inevitable," he said. "They are done in a very way."

Perhaps, almost by definition, requires change. Still Black "Skirts had gotten so short that there was nowhere to go but down." Atlas notes that a decade on the fashion fringe, short skirts have been reappearing for day wear in 1987. By the fall of 1990, Karl Lagerfeld, the influential designer at the French fashion house of Chanel, had shortened skirts to the point of maximum abbreviation, and, in some cases, had replaced them entirely with soundproof bottoms. This spring Lagerfeld surprised the fashion industry by dropping most of his hemlines but just as seductively, in the summer, said Sessaul, "he showed everything short."

With abrupt shifts like that coming from influential designers, some experts say that shoppers may become confused, and reluctant to buy. Some women may have another good reason for not buying the new look: the long skirts from the 1960s—when women did not show their knees at the office—still hang as their closets. Just the same, retailers will do their utmost to convince women that knees are out—and covered—for fall.

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A quiet success

Richard Zokol pursues his national title

The losing Canadian golfer on the PGA Tour in 1992 is not expected to win the Canadian Open this week in Quilley, Ont. Richard Zokol, 34, of Richmond, B.C., goes into Canada's national championship ranked well behind American stars Fred Couples and Davis Love III, the top two money winners at the 1992 PGA Tour, and leading champion Nick Price of Zimbabwe, who in fifth after his victory last month at the PGA Championship. But Zokol, an 11-year Tour

slip testifies to the wealth of opportunities in golf, but so will the character of Zokol himself. He came closest to becoming a household name in 1983 when sportsmanhood dubbed him "Dance Deck" for winning a portable stereo headset during tournaments to blacked-out distractions on the course. In his best season at the Tour, he finished third on the money list. This season, however, Zokol's determination has begun to pay off. He recorded his first-ever Tour victory—an accomplishment that was



Zokol at Glen Abbey: 'I've always been the tortoise in the race.'

veteran who came out last week's Greater Milwaukee Open ranked 96th on the 1992 money list, has nevertheless built a successful career in the unpredictable world of pro golf. At the Open, for instance, he will wear the brand logo of four corporate sponsors: Taylor Made, a club manufacturer; Asahi, the Japanese car manufacturer; Enns mineral water; and Bell Cellular. At first, he said, he wondered "if I'll have too many logos on me," but decided that he can never die completely interested in as well as his own. "I've got three children who are getting ready to go to school," Zokol said, "so I need something that will take care of business even when I'm not winning much on the Tour."

The fact that Zokol is able to attract sponsor-

overshadowed by Couples's victory at the Masters at the same April weekend. But that, and his performance at the prestigious U.S. Open at Pebble Beach, Calif., in June—his was in contention until early in the final round—boosted his appeal to sponsors. Now, things are gradually falling into place. Said Zokol: "In everything I've done, I've always been the tortoise in the race. But I get there in the end."

That slow-but-certain approach applies equally to another Canadian golf surprise, the Canadian Tour. The cross-country series of tournaments, which attracts Canadian and foreign pros who aspire to the PGA Tour, now stages 12 tournaments offering \$1.4 million in total prize money. This year's Tour begins in May with the Porteous Open in Victoria and

concluded last week at the King's County Classic in Montreal, P.E.I. Canadian Tour stars such as American Billy Boy Brown and Australian Craig Parry have graduated to the PGA Tour, while others, such as Vaccaro's Rocco Frontini and Rick Gibson of Victoria, have become stars on the Japanese and Asian tours. Finally, in fact, has won more than \$1 million since leaving the Canadian Tour for the PGA Tour. The Canadian tour expects to develop further when Richard Green, the influential tournament director of the Canadian Open, takes over as Canadian Tour commissioner next year.

As for the Open itself, the nature of its success appears to have been greatly exaggerated. In recent years, critics have charged that the organizers, the Royal Canadian Golf Association and de Munnery Ltd., had squandered the Open's former prominence by staying at Glen Abbey rather than moving to different courses (or other national championships) and by losing its prime summer date along with major U.S. network coverage. If all that is true, the players do not seem to have noticed. Justin Couples, Love and Price this week will be Americans Craig Stadler, Curtis Strange, John Daly and John Cook, and Australian Greg Norman, making the 1992 field among the best of any event outside the four "majors"—the Masters, the PGA Championship, and the U.S. and British opens. Price said that there was great prestige in winning the Canadian Open, adding: "An national championship pro, this one probably ranks third [after the U.S. and British opens]." The event will be broadcast in the United States on ESPN, the sports cable network, and in Canada on CTV. The course, a 7,112-yard, par-72 layout designed by Jack Nicklaus, remains popular among local touring pros, especially the long-hitters. But according to Stephen Ross, executive director of the PGA, the 1992 event is only at the Abbey because the Royal Montreal Golf Club turned down an offer to play last. Furthermore, he said the PGA is already considering alternative sites for the 1994 or 1995 Open.

While the Open has enjoyed popular success such as Arnold Palmer, Strange and Norman, it has failed to produce a Canadian victor since The Fletcher of Saskatoon in 1954. Zokol and fellow British Columbian Dave Barr and Roy Stewart have challenged in recent years, only to fade on the treacherous valley holes on the Abbey's back nine. Zokol illustrates the character of recent Canadian winners to the quality of the competition, rather than to the pressure of winning their country's biggest tournament. "I think we have already faced that pressure," he says. "It's nothing new—it's what goes with being Canadian at the Canadian Open." As for his own tortoise, Zokol is philosophical. "It is the nature of the game that as soon as you think you're on top, you fall flat on your back," he says. But, over the system, he adds, "It's a great way to make a living." For Zokol, it seems, professional success has come from learning to temper golf's emotional roller coaster.

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Pilgrimage in the Adirondacks

BY TERRY FRAYNE

The areas of towering old maples and cedar trees crisscross the intensely hilly terrain of the Saratoga Race Course where thoroughbred excitement throughout the month of August, and down the road to four tracks direct to Cooperstown, baseball, tennis and gloves and gloves, and long road endures cry for space in the windows of almost every retail store. Now that autumn beckons, the crowds are thinning, but last month, as always at this time of year, spectators filled everywhere.

For a fan of baseball or horse racing there is no place quite like the gently rolling segment of upstate New York province that resides in the foothills of the Adirondack Mountains in Cooperstown, the apocryphal tale of Babe Ruth's most famous home run ever, and so does the dubious story of a Civil War army general named Doubleday invented baseball. A hundred Islanders not born in Saratoga Springs, the Canadian bred old Northern Dancer owner as his horse his nose in front of first-classing 1991 Rose in winning the 1994 Kentucky Derby.

The towns are vivid reflections of the games they celebrate (aside that doubly Cooperstown is famous with small dining shops and endless landscaping traffic, reminding many of the baseball that screams big-league ball parks half an hour before game time). In contrast, Saratoga Springs is almost sleepy, a town of big, quiet, quiet houses, of deep, perfectly trimmed lawns and foliage not unlike the massed fields of rice fields everywhere. In August, Saratoga's leafy charm comes on an ancient tradition of grandeur. At the track, where red-and-white striped awnings fly gently in the afternoon breeze above concession booths, horsemen, horseplayers and tourists with picnic baskets spread themselves out on blankets and deck chairs on the lawns under the tall old trees, and sit as jockeys while the horses are and are called a few feet away. Along the paths approach the grandstands, which line up patios and balconies of horses

Raucous Cooperstown and gentle, almost sleepy Saratoga Springs are vivid reflections of the games they celebrate

and racing scenes for sale to passers-by.

The building village of Cooperstown is noted at the southern tip of Lake Otsego, a two-mile sliver of gleaming water that was dubbed "Glimmerglass" by the American novelist James Fenimore Cooper whose father found the village in 1786. Nowadays, the baseball theme is everywhere, not just in the three-story, redbrick National Baseball Hall of Fame but along Main Street in window displays stretching from the Home Plate restaurant just the Doubleday Cafe and the Where It All Began Hat Co. ("Get your name stamped on your own personalized baseball bat," two or three blacks in McEwen's Hardware, Walker's Gallery Custom Framing and the F.R. Woods Baseball Town Mall).

The explosive thrice a ritually passed on games built outside Doubleday Field where each year two million fans brown play as ex-players in recognizing the usual induction of retired players newly elected into the game's Hall of Fame. Kids of all ages go to stand in better cages and swing a rented bat at baseballs spit from a pitching machine 60 feet, on scapes away around them, cards and gloves are sold of old times and tell stories, and the sales of cards bearing a transparent print of Babe Ruth pointing to the center field

Members in Chinatown's Wrigley Field where he may have called his shot and behind a home run to the very spot.

Well, maybe he did and maybe he didn't. The unfortunate accident occurred during the 1952 World Series when the Babe was injured by bat the Wrigley Field banner (in fact, he hit a pair (two) day during the third game of the Series), but whether he pointed as a different matter. "I was there," the *New York Herald Tribune's* columnist Red Smith said in Toronto years later, making a Casey and drinking a scotch one night during Queen's Plate week, "and if he pointed, I missed it. So did every body else for two or three days, and then a guy wrote it and another guy pointed it up and pretty soon a lot of guys were writing it."

These days, a life size likeness of the uniformed Babe carved from bannockwood and even reflecting a five o'clock shadow on his chubby lower is a centerpiece in the baseball museum, along with Ty Cobb's spikes, Christy Mathewson's shirt, a Hank Aaron collection and 5,000 other fragments of the game's history.

Like in the general ingredient in the respect of Saratoga Springs, too, although the town doesn't make nearly the buzz over its racing museum that Cooperstown does over baseball. You can stroll several blocks from Broadway, which is Saratoga's main street, all the way to Union Avenue, where the track lies with its wide spread of trees and grass and open, without once being accused by a store window reminding you that Secretariat, most here at Man o' War either. Each was star the best horses on the circuit at run here an afternoon a week during August, a month when racing occupies another Belmont race Aqueduct, the two big New York tracks, and the thoroughbred people too moves north.

The migration has been going on for just under 120 years. In 1863, farmers found this new attraction to add to Saratoga's medicinal mineral springs, which had been famous since colonial days, springs heavily charged with carbonated gas and health-giving minerals. There were gambling casinos then, too, and for half a century it was a lively and elegant place to be. Lillian Russell, the belle of the Broadway stage (the other Broadway), sat in a box at the track, and Victor Herbert conducted the orchestra in the fashionable Grand Union Hotel. The story goes that the couple, struggling between numbers under a soft, stuffy sky "caught the attention of a woman's shaper" as Joe H. Palmer wrote in *The Hot Room*. With her whisper as a beguiling Herbert penned the classic *Rosie and the Gypsies*.

Nowadays, there is still an easy feel to Saratoga, the Grand Union, with its broad veranda where horseplayers often gather in evening hours deep in the next day's Daily Racing Form, is gone now and a vibrant supermarket occupies its old site. There are no gambling devices, either, unless you count the horse-racing ones, but there is still a kind of nostalgia, pursued not as intently as Saratoga Springs. Of course, this is especially so if you happen to take your imagination with you

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PEOPLE

BACK IN THE SPOTLIGHT

Jennifer Beals made a splash about 10 years ago when she starred as a showgirl/saltie dancer in the 1982 hit movie *Pinkdancer*. Now, she is again in the spotlight, starting as a talented defense lawyer in the CBS TV show *2000 Malibu Road*, and playing a Dominican woman caught up with gangsters in the new movie *In the Soup*, directed by her husband Alexandre Aroldi. Said Beals, 38, of her TV role: "I was interested in the part of Perry Quinn because she seemed the most realistic of the characters—if you run up that about any television character."

Beals from dancing to defending



Rags to riches

He finally fed Chloé in 1970, finding safety and a home in Vancouver. Now, Martin Egin is reaping the benefits of another move—to Manhattan, where over the past two years he has earned a reputation as one of the most promising young menswear designers in North America. Egin says that he stresses for a balance between style and comfort in his eclectic designs. "There is a real fine line between what you can do that is new and what men just won't accept," the 30-year-old designer told *ManWeek*. But he added, "We've let some dealers think we give ourselves credit for."



Egin: fashion on a 'fine line'

A SNOWBIRD OF COMEDY

Montreal-born Elaine Page is in the news. On Aug. 30, she was on *Seinfeld* for *The Flap*, a script she wrote for the NBC comedy series. *Seinfeld*, and now she is writing for the CBS drama *Lave and Moe*, produced by Murphy Brown creator Diane English. But before moving to Los Angeles 10 years ago, Page wrote for CBC Radio—until she peaked into her husband's pay envelopes. Recalled Page: "I thought, 'This is what I have to look forward to!'" She added, "I have to say it, but there is only so far that you can go in Canada."

Clipping by the book

Author Margaret Atwood describes her new book, *Good Bones*, as "a collection of very short, non-classifiable pieces. You couldn't say they are short stories, you couldn't say they are essays, you couldn't say they are poems." The cover image for *Good Bones* is just one example, a collage depicting a terrible figure wearing an extravagant hat—designed and assembled by Atwood herself. Said the Toronto-based author: "I cut it out of fashion magazines, of which I have a large number at my fingertips because I have a teenage daughter." Atwood, 50, who also designed the costume for her 1984 book *Wander in the Earth* ("the figure is from a neo-black ad, and the clouds are mine"), added that besides "digging," she also paints the occasional picture. Now, however, she says that she is busy with the editor for which she is best-known. "I'm in the middle of a novel," Atwood said, adding, "At least I hope it's the middle. Otherwise, this thing is going to be very long."

Atwood: fashion magazines 'at my fingertips'



A TIMELY TWIST

Ron Mann says that the inspiration for his new movie came from hearing a radio interview with golden-olde dance idol Chubby Checker. "That day, I dug out three best records," the Toronto-based filmmaker added, "and I thought, 'Hey, this sounds as fun as I remembered it.'" The result is *Twist*, a documentary history of the dance in the 1950s and 1960s. Last month, Mann's film benefited from a twist of a different kind. When Tri-Star Pictures moved up the release of Woody Allen's *Handmade and Wives* to capitalize on publicity over his battles with Mia Farrow, the Toronto Festival of Festivals scheduled *Twist* to replace it for the Sept. 19 closing screening. Said Mann, 34: "They found out that my marriage was completely intact, so they moved it."

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Sarandon (left), Robbins and now Jack Palance: romance and political outrage

FILMS

The stars and snipes

Tim Robbins becomes a political player

At the close of the show-business chemistry of the current American election race, one campaign stands out in its design as "Vote now, ask questions later." And its poster shows the candidate posing as a marble duke, wearing nothing but an American flag, with an acoustic guitar propped by his side. The campaign is aimed at the box office, not the ballot box. And the candidate is a

political contender for the Senate in a provocative new movie titled *Bob Roberts*, helmed by the Festival of Festivals, running in theaters from Sept. 19 to 19. A weekly Sunday issue, *Bob Roberts* cuts to the heart of the American body politic with uncanny timing. And for Tim Robbins, its writer, director and star, the movie marks a significant triumph.

In a movie industry where style routinely

supersedes substance, Robbins has turned the tables once in our year. As the star of *The Player*, director Robert Altman's evocative satire of Hollywood, he has portrayed Mike Mill, a shabby executive who marries a screenwriter and gets away with it. The movie was a critical and commercial hit. Now, *Bob Roberts* does for politics what *The Player* did for show business. In the title role, Robbins plays a right-wing populist asked who is campaigning with his own funds (in a self-made millionaire) and his own songs (in a musician entrepreneur). Like Mike, Robbins is a cunning opportunist, steeped at the art of deception. "The two characters are connected," Robbins said in a recent *Rolling Stone* interview in Los Angeles. "Griffin Mill would vote for Bob Roberts. But he never would have gone-lighted this movie."

Reversing the larger-than-life ratio of most movie stars, Robbins, who stands at 6 feet, 4 inches actually seems taller and more charismatic to persons than on-screen. With half-lidded good looks, tanned hair and a wryly comical manner, the 33-year-old actor appears to have life in common with the slick characters he portrays in both *Bob Roberts* and *The Player*—except for a hint of shrewdness. "What he does best is portray people he doesn't like," Altman told *Newsday* last week, adding that Robbins performed "a remarkable feat" of writing, directing and starring in *Bob Roberts*. "I couldn't believe that he could show such contrast in all three sides," said Altman. "I think he's just terrific. If there's a new Oscar Wilder around, let's it."

Until this year, Robbins was best known for playing disaffected pickup Nuke LaLoosh in the husband movie *Bad Company* (1985), another departure from type. It marked the beginning of his romance with actress Susan Sarandon, who recently gave birth to their second son, Arthur Core Vidal, who co-stars in *Bob Roberts* as a liberal senator, has known Sarandon for 20 years. "I've met many of his graduate-schoolers," he told *Maclean's*. "And Tim is by far the brightest. He really is political. There is a lot of that politics of emotion you get when film stars march for whales or native tribes. He knows how it works."

Indeed, Robbins displays a hardheaded sense of political outrage that is rare in Hollywood. He and Sarandon were among the handful of stars to take a vocal stance against the Persian Gulf War last year. "When they passed a protest march in Washington, he said, 'We were invited. It was just one day. They're always saying Hollywood is a real force, influencing policy. But it's not true. I was chosen, but I don't see conviction. Where are the movies if it's so left and liberal?' I don't see 'em.'"

Defying the odds, Robbins has made one *Bob Roberts* as a savvy, astute and uncompromising attack on the media circus of American politics. Robbins first lost the Roberts campaign to a TV's Saturday Night Live spoof years ago. And although the movie was filmed last year, the script ferociously came recent events with remarkable precision.

Robbins conceived of a populist fascinator running for office long before independent conservative Ross Perot entered the political

fray. He had Roberts campaigning with a mass of untrained well before Democratic candidate William Clinton paid his nomination to the Arsenic talk show. And when President George Bush recently blasted this year's riots in Los Angeles on the social program of the 1960s, he sounded a lot like Bob Roberts, affixing his explanation for urban chaos. "So things are predictable," he said. "But there are a lot of strange coincidences— it's frightening."

Coincidentally set on the eve of the Persian Gulf War, *Bob Roberts* unfolds as a mock documentary by a British film critic. The story covers Roberts' campaign against liberal Pennsylvania senator Bradley Pelt (Vlad). He launches a vicious smear campaign, falsely accusing Pelt of consorting with a teenage girl. Meanwhile, Roberts launches an anti-nuclear campaign, capitalizing on a half-crazed underplayed journalist who insists that he once diverted atomic funds into a drug-to-the-army deal. A fictional Alan Rickman plays the "Vote Bob" campaign slogan, Ray Ward, who portrayed the assassin, Leifed Palmer in TV's *Twins*. Pelt, in a wonderfully typical act in the country's smugmy spin doctor.

All the actors are seen through the eyes of the documentary camera—a first-name way that *That's the Spirit* (1984) used the second-hand documentary format for its satirical portrait of a hippie-rock rock band. And like *That's the Spirit*, *Bob Roberts* is a model of facts. Roberts campaigns with his guitar, singing populist propaganda songs, and with such titles as *The Times Are Changing*, *Bad, Drugs, Shit*, *Arise America* and *My Love*. Roberts conveys the songs with his older brother, David. But unlike the victims of *That's the Spirit*, the brothers say that they they have an intention of putting out a sound-track album. "I don't want to be driving in my car five years from now and hear these songs on the radio," said Robbins.

Apprehending and analyzing the three-sided image of the following result, *Bob Roberts* applies it to a New Right agenda. The movie is riddled with references to Bob Dylan, including some inspired parodies of songs from *Don't Look Back* (1970), American singer D. A. Pennebaker's classic documentary of an early Dylan tour. One sequence shows Roberts trying on a laptop computer while an on-screen female backing singer coos with a guitar—much as John in *Don't Look Back* that shows Dylan pecking out song lyrics on a typewriter while a woman coos.

The plot misfires, as, however, astute, as it. And Robbins proudly points to the fact that he obtained a never-recorded song by folk singer Woody Guthrie to play over the film's closing credits. "It has such an honest beauty and it's so real," he says. "I was so moved by it, we've been using music in the film." He

added that he was anxious to learn that the Guthrie estate had turned down a request by Perot to turn *This Land is Your Land* as a campaign jingle.

Robbins, meanwhile, can trace his own heritage to the roots of American folk music. One of four children born to Gil and Mary Robbins, he grew up in Manhattan's Greenwich Village, where he continues to live. His mother was a publishing executive, and his father managed the *Goathead* nightclub and was a member of the Highwaymen, a folk group known for the hit second *American* New Star that *Arise*. "Once when I was a kid," he recalled, "I remember

making you feel that behind his smile, across eyes he's thinking thoughts on character as a movie has ever thought before."

That quality is what makes Robbins so early effective in *The Player*, for which he received the best actor award at the Cannes film festival in May. Robbins also launched *Bob Roberts* at Cannes, and says that the buzz created by *The Player* gave him the edge in the election. But he won't say. "This movie," he said. "I didn't happen in America. No one would give me the money to make *Bob Roberts* at this time." (Cannes franchises provided the movie's \$4.5-million budget.)

But with a low budget and violent tone, *Bob Roberts* has been picked up for distribution by Paramount Pictures, which is clearly looking to repeat the success of *The Player*. There are some striking stylistic parallels between the two movies. Like Altman's *Roberts* directs with a kinetic sense of spontaneity, lighting the mood with bright cinema. Sarandon and James Spader deliver hilarious turns as TV newscasters. Acknowledging his debt to Altman, Robbins said, "I picked up a feeling of comedy from him, that a film out should be his. Most everybody working on the film couldn't believe I had gotten the money for it. There was a great sense of mischief involved with that."

By encouraging a conservatism, Robbins also claimed his documentary-like authenticity. Vidal, a veteran of failed campaigns for Congress and the Senate, says that the film captures the chaos of a real campaign—the feeling that "you're always drowning in people." He accepted his own role, he said, "because I felt an elderly, unrefined, liberal senator would not be too great a burden on my fragile talent." His performance, which consists mostly of an extended interview, was almost entirely improvised, and Vidal, 64. "This captured down beside the cameras and three questions at me."

Robbins has made a name about the moment relationship between show business and politics in America by breaking the rules of both. But he insists that his satire is nonpartisan. "It takes shots at Democrats as well as Republicans," he said. "Liberals would accuse, newscasters, entertainment industry liberals—I don't think there is any group the movie is not about."

Why of labels, he denies that he is radical. "I think the conservatives are radical," he said. "The Republican party has been taken over by radical right-wing extremists. They're not controlling anything—they're chasing away all our constitutional rights. They're not a patriot." When Robbins starts to talk politics, he becomes passionate. But he says that he will not be raising for office. He seems to be half enough running race around Hollywood.

MIKE D. JOHNSON



Robbins: his richly funny satire cuts to the bone

my mother saying to me and telling me that my older sister had been arrested for protesting the Vietnam War and we should be very proud of her. It was a nice, defining moment."

Acting in experimental theater from the age of 12, Robbins went on to study drama at the University of California in Los Angeles in 1981. He and some fellow students founded a theater company called the Actors' Gang, and he remains active there. Deacon-enthusiast, he has displayed impressive range in movie roles that include a vivacious judge in *Pleasantville* (1998), an unemployed musician in *Caddyshack* (1996) and a frustrated Vietnam veteran in *Jack's Back* (1996). New Yorker critic Pauline Kael once wrote "It

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TELEVISION

The down-and-out

A documentary gives voice to the poor

VOICES FROM THE SHADOWS
(CBC, Sept. 15, 8 p.m.)

It is 2 a.m., and Denise Benjamin, a single, welfare-supported mother of two in Coaling, N.S., is tired and frustrated. The creators of the documentary *Voices from the Shadows* have provided her with a video camera to record her story. In a dimly lit room, Benjamin, 32, looks out of the street, welfare rules that prevent her from earning extra money through crafts. For any money earned, the equivalent is deducted from the welfare cheque. Declares Benjamin, "It is almost like living in a communist country. They have total control over your life." She adds, "I hate to be in a position where I have to be dependent on the government."

Benjamin's is one of the many powerful stories in *Voices from the Shadows*, which will air on the CBC's *Witness* series on Sept. 15. Produced and directed by veteran documentary-maker Peter Raymond who wrote the script with fellow Toronto journalist Lindsay Turner, the 90-minute program examines the lives of people on welfare in several provinces. And it suggests that Brian Mulroney's Tories have broken what the Prime Minister himself has described as a sacred trust, by cutting funds for provincial welfare programs.

It is a gritty film, at times as bleak as the lives it portrays. And although it attempts to present the other side of the issue by filming the openings of those who do not receive welfare policy at the municipal and provincial levels, Helen comes down squarely on the side of welfare recipients. The documentary describes government crackdowns on "moochers" and includes welfare activists who compare Quebec's welfare inspectors to the gangster. And it repeatedly poses angry welfare officers and angry taxpayers with poor council halls and crowded government reception.

To produce his film, Raymond spent four months in the company of welfare recipients. He uses their testimonials, voice-over narration and occasional statistics to illustrate his points. Raymond told *Maclean's* that he hoped *Voices* would help debunk the myth that many poor people are shiftless—and that Canada has

a universal welfare system with standardized rates. Said Raymond, "It was really shocked to find out about the disparity and inequalities of it. The people suffering under it," he added, "are not lazy welfare bums."

Indeed, Benjamin and her two young children are poor because she recently left an abusive husband. She receives \$464 a month from the municipal assistance program, and



The Benjamin family: from abuse to poverty

with that she has to feed, clothe and shelter her family. Benjamin has developed an eating disorder—nervous eating, or compulsive dieting. She struggles for food with a hawk's eye, reforming coupons, getting specials and then, in the end, resorts to what she calls begging by visiting the local food bank. Says Benjamin, "It is very stressful because I am always scared that I will not have enough money to provide for my kids, never mind myself."

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TELEVISION

Canada, the documentary may touch a raw nerve in many viewers. As more and more people grapple with their own financially strained circumstances, they may bristle at the fiery resentment voiced by welfare recipients and welfare activists in *Heroes In Velvet*. Que., welfare recipient Judy Sawyer glares into the camera and says, "Why don't one of you people, who sit in a nice office and get paid thousands of dollars a year, change places with me?" Mary de Wolfe, a worker at the Chrysler House women's shelter in Knoxville, N.S., states unequivocally, "It is a right in this country to have affordable housing, decent food, decent clothing, a decent quality of life. It is not a privilege. It is a right."

At least one recent study, however, argues that those things are within reach of more Canadians than welfare lobbyists suggest. In *Poverty in Canada*, just published by the Fraser Institute, a conservative think-tank in Vancouver, economist Christopher Sarlo argues that activists are wrong to base the poverty line on Statistics Canada's low-income cutoff, which in 1991 ranged from \$29,854 to \$36,990 for a family of four, depending on where they lived. Sarlo contends that the low-income cutoff represents relative poverty in a wealthy society, and insists that the poverty



The Dasecker doing without the better things in life

line is usually too high—and leads to the erroneous conclusion that one in four Canadians are poor. In fact, Sarlo argues, only about one in 20 Canadians is truly poor. And he suggests that Canadians would be more productive—and realistic—to fix a real poverty line and devote more resources to ensuring those who have fallen beneath it.

The Fraser Institute's antipathy approach to poverty contrasts starkly with Rayson's *Knives*. There is a pervasive authoritarianism—some might argue totalitarianism—in the documentary's view of the poor. The film-makers describe the Dasecker, a middle-class family of eight in Saskatoon, as living on an income that is 50 per cent below the poverty line—but Rayson and Tracey also note neither the poverty line nor the Dasecker's actual income. How could the satisfaction of welfare-waiters across the country let it ever complicate the payments. Meanwhile, some trivial points are distracting or amusing. When the Dasecker father, Tom, who constantly laments his inability to give his family the better things in life, suddenly appears with his hair permed, the film fails to explain how much it cost or why he considered it a priority.

Despite such failings, the documentary has undeniable power. Some of the imagery it reveals is too directly related to social assistance to be certain that the Dasecker's two-year-old, Darcy, isn't while waiting for a kidney transplant. But for the most part, the sheer desperation of poverty and the courage required of those who face it daily create a lasting discomfort.

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